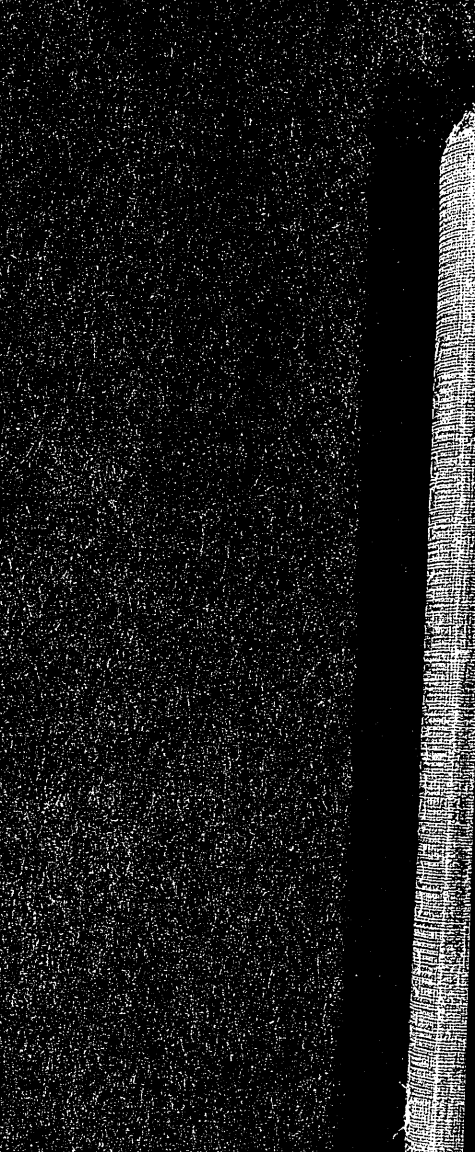




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SERIES III

LITURGICAL TEXTS

EDITED BY C. L. FELTOE, D.D.

TWENTY-FIVE
CONSECRATION PRAYERS

TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN
LITERATURE. SERIES III
LITURGICAL TEXTS

TWENTY-FIVE
CONSECRATION
PRAYERS
WITH NOTES &
INTRODUCTION

By ARTHUR LINTON.

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PREFACE

A WIDESPREAD interest in the great liturgies has been aroused by the publication of the Anglican Eucharistic Prayer as revised by the Convocation of Canterbury; and this book attempts to present to those who are interested, but unlearned, in liturgical matters, the great Eucharistic Prayers of the Church, given in full, but with the Intercessions indicated only, the rubrics omitted, and the responses of Deacon and people inserted in brackets, so as to make more easy the comparison of each with the Anglican Prayer.

By the Eucharistic Prayer is meant the great central Prayer of the Liturgy, which begins with the *Sursum Corda* and ends with the Doxology following the Invocation, or Invocation and Intercessions. This Prayer is fundamentally a unity, and though later teaching has concentrated attention upon this section or that as being the "form of consecration," such isolation of any portion of the Prayer is at variance with its nature.

Every Prayer of importance is included here, though only representatives could be given of the variable Gallican and Mozarabic Prayers, and of the multitudinous anaphoras of the Syrian Jacobites. It has seemed best to relegate the Didaché Prayers, Testamentum Domini, and the Gnostic Prayers to an Appendix: it is doubtful whether the Didaché represents any use at all; practically nothing is known as to the locality

and use of Testamentum Domini, and the Gnostic Prayers are naturally not Catholic.

The Introduction necessarily is limited to the mention of such liturgical facts as are essential to an intelligent understanding of the Prayers, and replaces a relatively full account of the different liturgies with map, chronological table, and a more or less detailed comparative table of the contents of the liturgies. This proved to be too large a work for the liturgical series, and will be published as a separate book; it is referred to here as "The Ancient Liturgies." My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Feltoe for general help and various suggestions; while for valuable help in connection with the translations I am much indebted to Canon Roberts of Luddesdown Rectory, Gravesend, the Rev. J. Vicars Foote, and my brother the Rev. E. C. Linton, without whose unfailing help I could not have completed the book.

With reference to the use of copyright material I am very grateful to Dr. Harmer, Bishop of Rochester, for permission to quote the translation of the Didaché Prayers, Appendix A; to Dr. Maclean, Bishop of Moray and Ross, for use of the Testamentum Domini Prayers; to Canon Brightman and the Clarendon Press for allowing me to translate from the text of *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, and to use the translation there given (pp. 228-34) of the Ethiopic anaphora, "The Apostles." To Canon Brightman I am also indebted for generously full answers to various questions, but perhaps the debt relates to "The Ancient Liturgies" rather than to this volume. My thanks are also tendered to Messrs. Cope and Fenwick for the translation of the Armenian Prayer "S. Athanasius," taken from *The Armenian Liturgy* by two Armenian Priests, in the admirable series "Christian Liturgies"; and, finally,

to the S.P.C.K. for the use of the three East Syrian Prayers from *The Liturgy of Adai and Mari* (S.P.C.K., 1893), and the Prayer of Serapion from Dr. Wordsworth's well-known book, *The Prayer Book of Serapion*.

A. L.

IN the Notes of this book I have referred frequently to the following books, as being easily obtained and of great value for further study of the Liturgies.

Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy* (Cam. Univ. Press, 1912), cited as *E.H.L.*

Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western* (Ox. Univ. Press, 1896), cited as *L.E.W.*

Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church* (Cam. Univ. Press, 1910).

Tyrer, *The Epiclesis* (Longmans, 1917).

Fortescue, *The Mass* (Longmans, 1912).

Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (S.P.C.K., 1919).

I have cited Neale's *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*, 2 vols. (London, 1850) as Neale, *Intro. H.E.C.*; *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Cabrol, etc., Paris, in progress) as *D.A.C.L.* Other books are referred to in full.

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PREFATORY MATTER

A.—A SHORT GLOSSARY OF SOME LITURGICAL TERMS

As descriptive of the Eucharistic Service.

*Eucharist.*¹—"The giving of thanks." This is probably the most ancient of the formal titles,² and is found in the Didaché, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and other early writers.

*Liturgy.*³—The most useful word for general use; it simply means "The Service." At first used of any service, it was soon appropriated wholly for the Eucharist. It is the Eastern technical term, but may be used of either the Eastern or Western services.

*Mass.*³—This can only properly be used of the Roman and Gallican rites. It is specifically the Western technical term. Much the most probable derivation is from Missa (Missio) used in the formula of dismissal: *Ite, missa est* = Go, it is the dismissal.

Rite.—The form and manner of celebrating. We speak of the Roman rite differing from the Constantinopolitan rite, by which we mean that the service at Rome differs from that at Constantinople in the wording, form, order, of the prayers and other elements of the service.

¹ See Srawley, *E.H.L.*, pp. 1, 39, 40.

² Though we find "Breaking of the Bread" and "Lord's Supper" in connection with the Agapé in Acts ii. 42 and 1 Cor. xi. 20.

³ See Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistia* (London, 1876), Part I., chap. i.

In connection with the great central prayer of the service we have—

The Eucharistic Prayer.—"The Prayer of Thanksgiving."

This title describes the fundamental and universal aspect of the Prayer. Our Lord, when He had given thanks, distributed the broken Bread, and so from very early days the invitation "Let us give thanks unto the Lord" has been prefixed to the Prayer.

Anaphora.—The word means oblation or offering, and is a very ancient term for the Prayer. As a Greek word it is used only of the Eastern rites. The scope of the word has been extended from the Eucharistic Prayer, to which alone it properly refers, to include other prayers before and after.

Canon.—The origin of this word is not clear. It may have been used to denote the comparatively unchanging nature of the Roman Prayer as opposed to the great variability of the Gallican. The word means rule; or standard, perhaps, in this connection. "Canon" originally referred to the whole Prayer, from *Sursum Corda* to the Doxology,¹ but in the present Roman Missal does not include the Preface.

Consecration Prayer.—As this title has been appropriated in the Anglican service to one section of the Prayer, it has acquired a somewhat misleading connotation, as indeed in the case of the word "Canon." It is important that both titles should be used as denoting the whole Prayer from *Sursum Corda* to the Doxology, if we are to retain our hold on the primitive and catholic truth that the whole Prayer consecrates.

¹ So the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (Wilson, Oxford, 1894), p. 234.

Invocation.¹—Liturgically this refers to the petition that God will send down the Holy Spirit upon the elements and the congregation. An invocation of the "Word" is found in one Eucharistic Prayer (Serapion).

Epiklesis.—This is simply the Greek word for the above, and has precisely the same meaning.

Anamnesis.—"The remembrance." The liturgical term for the form which in practically all liturgies links together our Lord's command, "Do this in remembrance of Me" or "for My memorial," and the obedience to the command, *i. e.* the Oblation: "Remembering, therefore, His Passion and Death, we offer to Thee this Bread and this Cup."

B.—PREFATORY NOTE ON THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION OF HIPPOLYTUS (AP. TRAD.), TESTAMENTUM DOMINI, AND THE DIDACHÉ.

For a long time the relationship of various documents in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic (known as the Church Orders), containing very largely the same material, has been a source of much dispute amongst scholars. Dom R. H. Connolly has gone far to prove that the basic document is the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, not now extant in Greek, but reproduced with very considerable accuracy in the Ethiopic and Latin versions. The *Apostolic Tradition* contains a short liturgy, beginning with the Kiss of Peace and ending with the Doxology of the Eucharistic Prayer. The Prayer is given on page 30. The discovery is momentous as proving (1) that the Invocation of the Holy Spirit dates at any rate from 225 (the title of Hippolytus's work suggests a much earlier date); (2) that the Invocation of the Holy Spirit existed at Rome in the third century.

The Testamentum Domini is an expanded version of the *Apostolic Tradition*, and contains a full liturgy. Its locality and use is uncertain: Dr. Maclean suggests Asia Minor. It was written in Greek (*c.* 350?), and translated into Syriac in the seventh century. It is now extant in Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic. It has formed the Ethiopic "Anaphora of Our Lord."

The Didaché may be a combination of a Jewish Tract, "The

¹ See note, p. 27.

Two Ways," and a kind of Church Order. There is no agreement amongst scholars as to the use and meaning of the Prayers in sections 9 and 10. Do they refer to the Agapé or Eucharist, or are they efforts of the imagination of a recluse? See Armitage Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didaché*, 1920, and compare the style of these Prayers with the contemporary, if not much earlier, intercessory Prayer of Clement of Rome (Ep. Cor. 61).

For the Apostolic Tradition see *The So-called Egyptian Church Order* (Cam. Univ. Press, 1917); and for the Testamentum see *The Testament of Our Lord*, Cooper and Maclean (Clark, Edinburgh, 1902). See also *The Ancient Liturgies*, Appendix A: "The Church Orders." For the Didaché see *The Early Hist. of the Liturgy*, Srawley (Cam. Univ. Press, 1913), chap. ii.

TWENTY-FIVE CONSECRATION PRAYERS

INTRODUCTION

I. THE EARLY LITURGY

IN the early days of the Church's history the Eucharist was doubtless celebrated with extempore prayers¹ by the presiding Apostle or Episcopos or Presbyter, and seems to have been preceded by the Agapé² or Love Feast, a social meal symbolising the family aspect of the Christian community. This arrangement, of course, reproduced precisely the procedure of the Last Supper, for our Lord, after they had supped, blessed the bread and wine; and seems to explain the otherwise anomalous title "the Lord's Supper" as applied to the Eucharist. Properly it can only be used of the united Agapé and Eucharist as practised in Apostolic and sub-Apostolic days. This arrangement was attended with obvious dangers (1 Cor. xi. 21), and the separation of the two functions was inevitable. When they were separated we do not know, but Justin Martyr in his well-known description of the Eucharist as celebrated at Rome

¹ Justin Martyr, *Ap.*, 67. 5; Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, I. 13. 2; *Ap. Trad.* (Connolly), pp. 64-6.

² See Keating, *The Eucharist and the Agapé* (London, 1901), and Leclercq in article "Agapé" in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Cabrol, Paris).

about A.D. 150 has no mention of the Agapé, and their separation at Rome must have been before his time.

However, whether it was preceded by the Agapé or not, there are several facts which seem to suggest that the general scheme of the Eucharist was the same from very early days. Perhaps the most striking argument is the substantial identity of all the liturgies. As direct statements we may notice that both Clement of Rome ¹ (c. 98) and Justin Martyr ² (c. 150) claim that our Lord and the Apostles arranged the customs and regulations in connection with the Eucharist.

The description of Justin Martyr, written for the Emperor, may be looked upon as an "official description," and gives us the following outline—

- (A) Lessons followed by a Sermon.
- (B) Prayers; Kiss of Peace; Offertory.
- (C) Eucharistic Prayer with its Amen.
- (D) Communion.

Justin, of course, does not profess to give a detailed synopsis of the service, and such items as Psalms between the lessons, the Lord's Prayer, and a prayer of thanksgiving after Communion may have found their place in his liturgy.

The references to the Eucharist in Irenæus (Asia Minor and Gaul), Clement of Alexandria (Egypt), and Tertullian (Africa) ³ corroborate this scheme as being that in use throughout the whole Church in the latter half of the second century, and obviously it is the same as that of all the great liturgies, the essential elements of which may be presented as follows ⁴—

¹ *Ad. Cor.*, xl., xli.

² *Apol.*, 67. 7.

³ See Srawley, *E.H.L.*, pp. 39-41, 47, 48, 129-142.

⁴ For a comparative synopsis of the contents of the great liturgies see *The Ancient Liturgies*.

Preliminary Service (Mass of the Catechumens).

(A) Lections; Psalms; Sermon; Prayers.

The Eucharistic Service proper (Mass of the Faithful).

(B) Prayers; Kiss of Peace; Offertory.

(C) The Eucharistic Prayer.

(D) Fraction; Lord's Prayer; (Prayer of Approach?); Communion.

(E) Thanksgiving; Prayer of Blessing, or Blessing; Dismissal.

The Liturgy, then, as we know it, is really a union of two services: the service of the word (Mass of the Catechumens), which is derived from the Synagogue worship, and the distinctively Christian Service, or Eucharist proper. The preliminary service seems to have been held as a distinct service at certain times, and it certainly was not an invariable prelude to the Eucharist proper. In Justin Martyr (*Ap.*, i. 65) we find the Eucharist beginning with the Kiss of Peace after a Baptism, and in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, following the consecration of a Bishop (Connolly, *The so-called Eg. Ch. Ord.*, p. 176). This is a most important point. Every Liturgy extant unites two distinct services; the service of the word (Bible-reading, psalm-singing, and instruction) and the Eucharist; and the people's service of Bible-reading and instruction on the first day of each week is not the usual daily office, but the service of the word.

The Lord's Prayer may have been in the Liturgy from early times, but the earliest allusion to it is in the 23rd Catechesis of Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 348).

A *prayer of approach* is in all Eastern liturgies, but not in the Western, though possibly the Gallican Benediction of the people before Communion may correspond to it.

II. THE GREAT LITURGIES

The three great cities of the Christian Church during the first three centuries were Antioch, Alexandria and Rome. Their ecclesiastical position was a result of their political greatness, and later when Constantinople attained political greatness, it claimed and finally obtained (at Chalcedon in 451) corresponding ecclesiastical rank. It was to Antioch that the Churches of Syria and Asia Minor looked for guidance and direction, while in Egypt Alexandria was the undisputed centre of influence. In the West (including Africa) Rome was supreme. It is round these three cities that minor liturgical differences and variations seem to centre, and the fundamental grouping might be—

- (A) The Antiochene or Syrian Liturgy.
- (B) The Alexandrian or Egyptian Liturgy.
- (C) The Roman or Western Liturgy.

But though this may, perhaps, be an adequate grouping until about A.D. 350, later developments demand a further division of the Western group into Roman and "Gallican."

The relationship of these two rites is a hotly debated question, but the most generally accepted theory¹ of to-day postulates an original Western rite much more akin to the "Gallican" than to the Roman, and looks upon the present Roman Mass as a local rearrangement of this ancient Western use, which, however, persisted elsewhere in the West and later became known as "Gallican." There is no question that about A.D. 400 the Roman rite was used hardly anywhere, if at all,

¹ See Dom Cagin, *Paléographie musicale*, V. (Solesmes, 1896); article "Canon" in *D.A.C.L.*; and *The Mass*, Fortescue (Longmans, 1913), chap. iii.

except in Rome itself, while the "Gallican" rite was probably in use elsewhere in Italy, and in Spain, Gaul, and the British Isles.

We have, then, the following table of liturgies—

Eastern

(1) THE ANTIOCHENE OR SYRIAN.

Antioch; Jerusalem; Syrian Monophysites; Constantinople; Armenia; East Syria (Persian).

(2) THE ALEXANDRIAN OR EGYPTIAN.

Alexandria; Coptic Monophysites; Ethiopia.

Western

(3) THE "GALLICAN" (possibly the ancient Western use). Gallican; Mozarabic; Ambrosian; Celtic.

(4) THE ROMAN (as rearranged in the fourth century?).

§ I. THE ANTIOCHENE LITURGIES

Antioch.—The use of Antioch itself is probably preserved for us in the Liturgy that is given in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, as this is in general agreement with S. Chrysostom's quotations from the Antiochene Liturgy of his day. The Apostolical Constitutions were almost certainly compiled at Antioch about the year 375.

(Text, *L.E.W.*, p. 3. Trans. in Warren, *Lit. of Ante-Nicene Ch.* (S.P.C.K., 1912), p. 258.)

Jerusalem.—At first probably using the rite of the Patriarchal city Antioch, Jerusalem seems to have developed a version of this rite which gradually ousted the parent use even at Antioch itself, and may be considered as the use on which the Constantinopolitan and

Armenian rites are ultimately based. The earliest MS. of "S. James" is perhaps of the ninth century, and there are others of the eleventh and later centuries, but these MSS. have all been affected to a greater or less extent by the dominating, though later, use of Constantinople. However, the use of Jerusalem has been preserved as a living rite by the Monophysites (Syrian Jacobites), who separated from the Catholic Church during the fifth and sixth centuries, and there are extant lectures (Catecheses) of Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.* 348), the 23rd of which deals in some detail with the Liturgy, and corresponds in many points with the Liturgy of S. James as in the Greek MSS. and in the use of the Syrian Jacobites.

(Text, *L.E.W.*, p. 31. Trans. in *Trans. of Prim. Lits.*, Neale and Littledale (London, 1868), p. 30.)

Syrian Jacobites (Monophysites).—This sect has added an immense number of anaphoras to the Liturgy of S. James, which, however, is probably their normal Liturgy, the anaphoras being seldom used.

(Trans. in *L.E.W.*, p. 69.)

Constantinople.—Before the founding of Constantinople the Liturgy of Asia Minor (Pontus, Asia, Cappadocia), so far as we can see it, was the Antioch-Jerusalem rite. S. Basil, no doubt, made revision of the already existing Liturgy for his Church of Cæsarea, and this became the Liturgy of Constantinople. In all essentials it is the same as the Antioch-Jerusalem rite. Subsequently S. Chrysostom seems to have made liturgical additions and revision, and the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom is probably in part due to him, but there have been extensive additions and modifications since his time. The rite of Constantinople, after having influenced the

Antiochene and Alexandrian rites, finally ousted them altogether, and since about the twelfth century the whole Orthodox Eastern Church has used the Constantinopolitan, or Byzantine, rite.

(Text, *L.E.W.*, pp. 309-411. Trans., Neale and Littledale, pp. 92-145.)

Armenia.—The Liturgy of Armenia is a version of the Cæsarean Liturgy of S. Basil, S. Gregory the Illuminator who catholicised Armenia being consecrated from Cæsarea as the Armenian Catholicos. There is East Syrian influence discernible in the rite, and also Roman modifications, dating from the time of the crusades in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

(Trans. in *L.E.W.*, p. 412, or *The Armenian Liturgy* (Cope and Fenwick, 1908).)

East Syria.—The East Syrian use centres round Edessa, the Eastern outpost of the Church. From thence it spread to Nisibis and Persia. In 424 the Persian Church definitely separated itself from the Catholic Church by emphasising its own independence, and when Nestorius was condemned in 431 his followers took refuge in the Persian Church, which at the end of the fifth century was almost wholly Nestorian. The early Edessene Liturgy was doubtless Antiochene in origin, but subsequent modifications made the Persian rite very distinct.

(Trans., *L.E.W.*, p. 247, or *Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari* (S.P.C.K., 1893).)

§ 2. THE EGYPTIAN (ALEXANDRIAN) LITURGIES

Alexandria.—The Liturgy that was the normal use of Alexandria and Egypt is known as the Liturgy of S. Mark. The earliest MS. of this is of the twelfth century, but as in the case of the other rites the ancient use can,

to a great extent, be reconstructed from references to it in contemporary writers; and by comparison of these and the Coptic Monophysite use (as in the case of the Syrian Jacobites, preserving the ancient Patriarchal use) we are enabled to judge how much of "S. Mark" as known to us is ancient, and how much due to later accretions and Byzantine influence.

(Text, *L.E.W.*, p. 113. Trans. in Neale and Littledale, p. 1.)

The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (known since 1899) was evidently a local variation of the Alexandrian use, and dates from about 350. There is no reason for thinking that its use ever extended beyond Thmuis. It is unique amongst extant liturgies as possessing an invocation of the "Word" instead of the Holy Spirit, and its phraseology throughout is unusual. The fragments found at Deir Balizeh in 1907 are perhaps a little later than Serapion (c. 400?). Like the Antiochene Liturgy the rite of Alexandria was supplanted about the twelfth century by the Byzantine use, and is now used only by the Monophysites (Copts). Two anaphoras (of the Antiochene school) seem to have been in use with the Alexandrian rite; they are given on pp. 92-101.

(Trans. of *Serapion*, Wordsworth (S.P.C.K., 1910); *Deir Balizeh* (in part), Srawley, *E.H.L.*, pp. 73 ff.)

The Coptic Monophysites.—These separated from the Catholic Church at about the same time as the Syrian Monophysites, and, like them, have continued the ancient Patriarchal use. The Liturgy of "S. Cyril" is essentially "S. Mark" under another name, and the two Antiochene anaphoras mentioned above are still used, that of S. Basil, indeed, being the normal anaphora of the Copts.

(Trans. *L.E.W.*, p. 144, or *The Coptic Liturgy*, Bute (Cope and Fenwick, 1908).)

Ethiopia (Abyssinia).—This Church was founded in the fourth century by Frumentius and became Monophysite with the Coptic Church. The rite is practically the same as the Coptic one, but its anaphoras are distinctive; the normal anaphora being that of the Church Order of Hippolytus, while another is from *Testamentum Domini*.

(Trans., *L.E.W.*, p. 194.)

Western Rites

There are two points which must be emphasised as being distinctively and exclusively Western—

- (1) The variability according to the Calendar of certain sections of the Mass.
- (2) The use of the words "Qui pridie quam pateretur" (Who the day before He suffered), introducing the account of the Institution, as contrasted with the Eastern phrase, "In the night in which He was betrayed."

It is to be noticed that the Roman and "Gallican" uses agree on these two very important points, which is a strong argument in favour of the theory already mentioned¹ that the present Roman use is a rearrangement of a primitive Western use which in its main outline is preserved in the so-called "Gallican" use. A former theory assumed that the "Gallican" use was an Eastern use (Ephesine) transplanted to the West, but the fact that the "Gallican" rite was to be found in Gaul, Spain, Italy and Britain,² makes such a theory extremely improbable. The added detail that this rite was derived from Ephesus has no kind of proof.

¹ P. 4.

² Probably the African rite was also "Gallican," see W. C. Bishop in *I.Th.St.*, xiii. 250 ff.

Apart from minor differences the following may be especially noticed as variations between the two rites—

- (1) The "Gallican" have the Kiss of Peace before the Sursum Corda, as in the Eastern and primitive Liturgy.

The Roman has it after the Eucharistic Prayer.

- (2) The "Gallican" rites have the Intercession and "Diptychs" also before Sursum Corda. This, again, is the primitive position.

The Roman Mass has these within the Canon, following the Sanctus, and also after the equivalent to the Invocation.

- (3) The "Gallican" Canon contains sometimes (the section "Post-pridie" is variable) an Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

The Roman Canon contains no mention of the Holy Spirit.

We may also notice that the functions of the Deacon have been practically eliminated from the Roman Mass, except for the reading of the Gospel.

§ 3. THE "GALLICAN" RITES

We may take the "Gallican" rites first as probably representing the older Western use, and subdivide them into (1) the Gallican rite proper, as used in Gaul; (2) the Mozarabic, as used in Spain; (3) the Ambrosian, as used in Milan and neighbouring localities; (4) the Celtic, as used in the British Isles.

The Gallican Rite (Gaul). This is preserved for us in the Masses published by Mone in 1850, the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, the *Missale Gothicum*,¹ the *Bobbio Missal*² and some fragments. We have also a very full

¹ Bradshaw Society, 1916.

² *Ibid.*, 1917. All four missals in Neale and Forbes (Burntisland, 1855).

description of the rite in a letter attributed to Germanus of Paris (496–576), (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 72). This, then, was the early rite of Gaul which was gradually supplanted by the Roman use, its final extinction dating from a decree of Pepin referred to in the *Admonitio Generalis* of Charlemagne (789).

The Mozarabic Rite (Spain). In all essentials this is the same as the rite of Gaul. The Spanish use was edited by Cardinal Ximenes in 1500 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 85), and in 1904 and 1906 Dom Ferotin edited from ancient MSS. the Spanish *Liber Ordinum* and *Liber Sacramentorum* (Firmin Didot, Paris). These are free from several Roman elements of the Ximenes edition, and enable us to see the Spanish use much more clearly. A very important source of information with regard to the early Mass is a treatise by Isidore of Seville (560–636), *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 83), in which the Mass is described and explained. This rite persisted much longer than that of Gaul, but by the fifteenth century had practically disappeared, although authorisation was obtained from Pope Julius II. by Cardinal Ximenes for its use in six churches at Toledo and a chapel at Salamanca. It is now used only at Toledo (in the Mozarabic Chapel), and in the Talavera Chapel of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca.

Ambrosian (Milan).—The history of this rite is obscure, but there is not really much doubt that it is a considerably Romanised “Gallican” use. After the Sanctus the Roman Canon is now used, but on Maundy Thursday and Easter Even obviously “Gallican” sections are inserted. There is still a relic of the “Gallican” position of the Pax, and the general outline of the Mass is clearly “Gallican” and not Roman.

(Trans., *The Ambrosian Liturgy*, Atchley (Cope and Fenwick, 1909).)

Celtic (the British Isles).—The Celtic Mass survives in the Stowe Missal and various fragments. In England it was displaced very early by the Roman rite; more slowly in Ireland and Scotland. So far as we can see it was practically identical with the other "Gallican" rites. The mediæval English uses (Sarum, York, Bangor, Hereford, Exeter, etc.) were simply local modifications of the Roman rite.

(Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Ox. Univ. Press, 1881; and *H.B.S.*, vols. xxxi. and xxxii., 1906).)

§ 4. THE ROMAN RITE

Amongst other evidence for assuming that the primitive Roman rite agreed with other liturgies in the main details we must especially note the witness of Justin Martyr (c. 150), and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (c. 225). They prove that originally the Pax was given at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful, and that an Invocation of the Holy Spirit followed the Oblation.

From 225 until about 400 we have no evidence at all, but the witness of *De Sacramentis*, written about 400 and containing certain sections of the present Roman Canon, together with the letter of Innocent to Decentius of Eugubium (c. 416), seems to prove that the main changes were made during the fourth century. Mr. E. Bishop gives the following as the outline of the Roman Mass of about the end of the fifth century—

(1) Introit; (2) Collect; (3) Epistle; (4) Gradual; (5) Gospel with its prefatory blessing; (6) Offertory Chant; (7) Orate Fratres, and Secret Collect; (8) Eucharistic Prayer; (9) Lord's Prayer; (10) Pax; (11) Communion and Anthem; (12) Post-Communion Collect; (13) Ite, Missa est.

Subsequently the Roman rite absorbed French and other elements and lost much of its pristine austerity and

terseness. The process of displacing the "Gallican" use may be said to have begun as early as the sixth century, and by about the year 1000 very little was left of the "Gallican" rite, except in Spain and perhaps Scotland.

The Roman Sacramentaries (books containing the Priest's part for the Sacraments) are as follows: (1) The "Leonian" ¹ (seventh century); (2) the Gelasian ² (seventh century); (3) the Gregorian ³ (eighth century); (4) Missale Francorum ⁴ (eighth century). The Canon has varied very little since its first appearance, but the Prefaces and other variable sections differ considerably in the different Sacramentaries.

III. THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

§ 1. *The New Testament.*

The foundations of the great central Prayer of the Liturgy are to be found in the statements of the Evangelists and S. Paul, which we may condense as follows—

- (1) Our Lord took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it,
- (2) and said, "Take, eat: This is My Body:"
- (3) And He took the cup and said, "This is My Blood of the New Covenant:
- (4) Do this for My memorial."

S. Paul adds: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye proclaim the death of the Lord, until He come."

These words are quoted by the great majority of the Liturgies as being the words of our Lord Himself (see note, p. 27).

¹ Feltoe (Cam. Univ. Press, 1896).

² Wilson (Ox. Univ. Press, 1894).

³ Bradshaw Society, 1915.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1919.

From the other references in the New Testament we learn nothing to our purpose, unless the use of the word "thanksgiving" in 1 Cor. xiv. 16 be admitted as a title of the Prayer.

The Scriptural account, then, enables us to say nothing of the contents of the Prayer. We can be practically certain, however, that the Church would follow our Lord's example in this matter, and also obey His command, "Do this for My memorial," and that in consequence Thanksgiving and Oblation were essential elements of the Prayer from Apostolic days. •

The early allusions confirm this deduction.

§ 2. 100-150.

Clement speaks of the offerings which our Lord commanded (Ep. 40), and also compares the Jewish and Christian regulations with regard to them.

The Didaché, in sec. 14, which indisputably refers to the Eucharist, uses the word "*Eucharistia*" ("Thanksgiving"), and three times in this section applies the word "*Thusia*" ("Sacrifice") to the rite. *Ignatius* also uses the already technical term "*Eucharistia*" (Philad. 4, Smyrn. 6², 8¹), and several times refers to the Christian "Altar" or "place of sacrifice" (Eph. 5²; Trall. 7²; Philad. 4).

The Prayer, then, was one of—

- (A) Thanksgiving.
- (B) Oblation.

For any prayer or invocation following this we have no evidence at all in this period.

§ 3. 150-225. *Justin Martyr and Irenæus.*

The writings of Justin Martyr enable us to fill in this outline with considerable detail. He describes the

Prayer in general as being "Praise and glory to the Father of all things through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Ap. 65).

Assuming that the subjects for thanksgiving are mentioned in historical sequence, as in the later Liturgies, we can make a reconstruction, at least possible, as follows—

THE GREAT
LITURGIES.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--|------------|
| I. God's glory. | <i>Praise and glory to the Father of all things</i> | Ap. 65. |
| Creation. | for His creation of the world with all that is in it for man's sake; | Dial. 41. |
| Providence. | for our creation and all His benefits, | Ap. 13. |
| II. Redemption. | <i>through the Name of the Son,</i> | |
| | for His having freed us from the evil in which we had come to be; | Dial. 41. |
| Incarnation. | for His having become incarnate. | Dial. 70. |
| Institution. | Jesus took bread, and having given thanks, said, "Do this for My memorial; this is My Body," and likewise taking the cup and having given thanks, He said, "This is My Blood," and gave to them; | Ap. 66. |
| Anamnesis. | which for a memorial of the Passion, | Dial. 41. |
| | in which is also commemorated the Passion, | Dial. 117. |
| Oblation. | our Lord delivered to be offered, | Dial. 41. |
| | our Christ delivered to us to offer; | Dial. 70. |
| III. The Holy Spirit. | <i>and of the Holy Spirit.</i> | |
| Invocation. | An invocation of the Agent in the Incarnation (?); | |
| | "but as by word of God Jesus Christ became incarnate and had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also the food made Eucharist by word of prayer from Him—is both flesh and blood." | Ap. 66. |
| | Amen. | Ap. 65. |

That this was the general outline of the Prayer described by Justin is rendered extremely probable

by the evidence of the Prayer of Hippolytus, *c.* 225, which is also a witness for Rome and corroborates the above reconstruction precisely, excepting the first section, which it does not include. However, the Prayer of Justin is at one with all later Liturgies as against the Hippolytean, which in this respect is quite unique.

Irenæus teaches that the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ on receiving the "invocation of God" (*Adv. Hær. IV. xviii. 5*) or "the word of God" (*V. ii. 2, 3*). He also speaks of Marcus the Gnostic "dragging out to greater length (than usual) the word of the invocation." It is certain, then, that some form of invocation was in use in the time of Irenæus, and this makes it very improbable that Justin's Prayer had nothing corresponding to the later Invocation. Irenæus also speaks of the bread over which thanks have been given as being the Body of our Lord, so that doubtless to him, as to all other early writers, the whole Prayer was consecratory. His particular emphasis is on Oblation as the outward sign of Thanksgiving: it is essentially a "Thankoffering" (*Adv. Hær. IV. xvii.*).

That the elements were offered as being more than purely material "firstfruits" is not really open to doubt. Justin tells us that the bread is offered "for a memorial of the Passion"; and so also the cup is offered "for a memorial of His Blood." Irenæus is even more definite, and relates how our Lord "took bread which is of creation, and gave thanks, saying, This is My Body. And the cup, likewise, which is of the same creation as ourselves, He declared to be His Blood, and taught the new oblation of the New Covenant" (*Adv. Hær. IV. xvii. 5*).

The Gnostic "Acts of John" and the "Acts of Thomas" are uncertain witnesses for anything con-

nected with the Catholic Liturgy, but it is interesting to note that whereas the "Acts of John" contain a Prayer of Consecration which consists wholly of thanksgiving, that in the "Acts of Thomas" is almost wholly invocation (see pp. 139, 140).

§ 4. *The Apost. Trad. of Hippolytus.*

Our next witness is the "Apostolic Tradition" of Hippolytus, and here we find a Eucharistic Prayer (p. 30) which is exactly in accord with the great Liturgies, except for the absence of the long thanksgiving for Creation and God's benefits, to which Justin had already borne witness in 150. One may perhaps surmise that the Church Order was for newly founded Gentile Churches, to whom the great thanksgiving for the Old Testament dispensation would be hardly intelligible; or conceivably this section of the Prayer was still extempore and at the discretion of the Celebrant. The first supposition possibly receives some support from the fact that the fundamental anaphora of the Ethiopic Church, founded c. 330, is a version of this Church Order.

It will be noticed, of course, that in this Prayer there is an express and formal Invocation of the Holy Spirit. We have already given reasons for thinking that liturgical innovations are not likely to be found in this Liturgy, and the fact that we have two contemporary witnesses to the existence of an invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Liturgy makes it practically certain that this element in the Prayer dates from considerably before 200.

Cyprian, Ep. lxiv. 4 (c. 250) says "nor can the oblation be sanctified where the Holy Spirit is not," while the Didaskalia, probably of about this time, has

the words "The Eucharist is received and sanctified through the Holy Spirit" (Hauler, *Verona Fragments*, p. 80); and also "which is greater, bread or the Holy Spirit Who hallows the bread?" (p. 81).

We may, then, draw the following conclusions with regard to the Eucharistic Prayer of the first three centuries—

- (1) It was a Prayer of Thanksgiving, which culminated in Oblation. Probably from the first a Prayer for God's blessing upon the elements with a view to the Communion concluded the whole Prayer.
- (2) The Thanksgiving commemorated God's benefits to mankind in historical sequence, and almost certainly included the account of the Institution.¹

§ 5. *The Fundamental Scheme.*

Now when we turn to the existing Liturgies we find that they all bear witness, by their general agreement, to the above description of the primitive Prayer.

The scheme that underlies all the great Prayers is as follows—

A Thanksgiving for—

- I. God's glory.
Creation.
Providence.
- II. Redemption.
Incarnation.
Institution of the Sacrament.
Passion, Death and Resurrection.

Symbolised in—The Oblation.

¹ As the preface to, and authority for, the Oblation.

III. The Work of the Holy Spirit.

Invocation.

Doxology.

Amen.

We notice, then—

- (1) The Prayer has a triple division: Father, Son and Holy Spirit: Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier. This recalls the description of Justin. The correspondence of this with the Baptismal formula will also be noticed; and it is possible that this, as being the only formula given by our Lord, had some influence on the form of the Eucharistic Prayer. As Dr. Srawley says in *The Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 226, "Thus the structure of the whole Eucharistic prayer follows the order of the Creed and is intended to set forth the successive stages of God's revelation, culminating in the work of the Holy Spirit, Whose intervention is invoked."
- (2) The whole Thanksgiving finds its outward expression in the Oblation, as being the fulfilment of our Lord's command, "Do this for My memorial."
- (3) The third section, "of the Holy Spirit," is the connecting-link between the Oblation and the Communion. This is obvious in all Liturgies. As the Holy Spirit worked in such and such a way, so may He communicate to us the fruits of the Oblation, the spiritual realities beneath the outward forms of bread and wine.
- (4) The whole Prayer was looked upon as "consecratory," and no attempt was made to define the moment at which the bread and wine became the Body and Blood of Christ. The later teaching, that "consecration" was effected

by the words of Institution or by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, or the Logos, does not seem to be compatible with the early allusions to the Prayer.

§ 6. *The Antiochene Prayer* (pp. 32-83).

This scheme is presented most fully by the liturgy of Antioch (Ap. Con.) and derived liturgies: Jerusalem (S. James, and Syr. Jacobite lits.); Constantinople, and Armenia; East Syria. Jerusalem differs from Antioch by the deferring mention of Creation and Providence until after the Sanctus, and by including a Deprecation, and Commemoration of the work of the Holy Spirit, between the Oblation and Invocation.

The East Syrian form has certain peculiarities, the most important of which is that the Intercessions are inserted before the Invocation instead of after.

The characteristics of the Antiochene Prayer (as a whole) may be defined as follows—

- (1) God's benefits are commemorated in historical and uninterrupted sequence; the whole Prayer is Eucharistic.
- (2) The Intercessions occur after the Invocation (the final element of the Prayer) as a natural extension of the petition for those about to communicate.

§ 7. *The Alexandrian Prayer* (pp. 84-109).

The Alexandrian form may be looked upon as a later modification of the Antiochene (primitive and normal) scheme. Its characteristics are two—

- (1) The Intercessions are inserted in the middle of the Thanksgiving for God's glory and creation. Just before these Intercessions occurs a preliminary Oblation.

No satisfactory explanation of the origin of such a position exists, and it is obviously an artificial insertion and not a natural development, as may be seen from the context. It is now to be found only in the Ethiopic Liturgy, as S. Mark has been disused since about the twelfth century, and the Coptic S. Cyril is displaced in practice by the Antiochene anaphora of S. Basil.

- (2) Following the Sanctus there is no mention of the Redemption or the Incarnation, and a short "preliminary Invocation" links the Sanctus to the Institution. This occurs also in Serapion and the Deir Balizeh fragments.

§ 8. *The Western Prayer.* "Gallican" (pp. 110-124).

When we turn to the West we find the primitive outline very much obscured by the introduction of variable elements into the Prayer. Considering the "Gallican" rites first as being perhaps the primitive Western use, we have this scheme—

PRIMITIVE OUTLINE.

"GALLICAN."

- | | | |
|------|--------------|--|
| I. | God's glory. | <i>Variable Contestatio, or Immolatio, or Illatio (Mozarabic).</i> |
| | Creation. | |
| | Providence. | |
| | Sanctus. | Sanctus and Benedictus. |
| II. | Redemption. | <i>Variable Post Sanctus.</i> |
| | Incarnation. | |
| | Institution. | Institution. |
| | Anamnesis. | |
| | Oblation. | <i>Variable Post Pridie, or Post Secreta, or Post Mysterium.</i> |
| III. | Invocation. | |
| | Doxology. | Doxology. |

I. The first section of the Prayer is thus represented by the Gallican *Contestatio*, or *Immolatio*, the Mozarabic *Illatio*, and the Ambrosian Preface. These are practically variable with every Mass, but in nearly all of them the opening sentence develops the answer of the people to the last versicle preceding the Prayer, "It is meet and right," and the *Sanctus* is introduced by some reference to the Angelic Hosts. This section in the "Gallican" Masses may be said to vary from the most wonderful and inspired beauty to the most wearisome triviality. They may be traced in some cases to various patristic writings of which they are *résumés* or *centos*. It is possible that some of these Western compositions date from the fourth century, but the fact that the ecclesiastical year did not develop till the end of the fourth century makes it impossible that there can be more than a few of so early a date, though many may be based upon early patristic writings.

II. Following the *Sanctus* is the *Post Sanctus*, variable with the *Contestatio*, or *Immolatio*, or *Illatio*, and normally, though by no means invariably, beginning with "*Vere Sanctus, Vere Benedictus.*" A common form of the *Post Sanctus* commemorates the Redemption and Incarnation very briefly, but quite often these forms have nothing distinctive about them. Some contain a reference to the Oblation, some a general petition based upon the subject of the day, and some a kind of preliminary Invocation.

THE INSTITUTION.—In the Gallican books the Institution is not given, being only indicated by the words "*Qui pridie.*" In the Ambrosian and Mozarabic MSS. it is given in full. The curious insertion in the Mozarabic Mass, "*Adesto, Adesto,*" is not given in the *Liber Ordinum*, and is certainly a later addition. It is probable that the same may be said of the words "*Dominus*

noster Jesus Christus in qua nocte tradebatur," as the following prayer has the title "Post Pridie."

III. After the account of the Institution the "Gallican" Liturgies have another variable section, sometimes containing both the Oblation and Invocation, sometimes containing one of these elements, sometimes containing neither. The omission of the Oblation is curious, and cannot be explained, as may that of the Invocation, by the prevalence of any particular theory of Consecration. The old Gallican books end this Prayer with the usual Doxology and Amen, as do also the *Liber Sacramentorum* and *Liber Ordinum* (Mozarabic), edited by Dom Ferotin.

§ 9. *The Roman Prayer* (pp. 124-127).

I. The first section of the Prayer is known in the Roman rite (and so the Ambrosian) as the "Preface." The name is not an early one, and seems to be due to the later conception that the "Canon" began only after the Sanctus. The earlier conception was, of course, that the Canon began at the Salutation and Sursum Corda (so in the Gelasian book). What is really the first part of the Canon came, then, to be looked upon merely as the "Preface" to the Canon proper. Originally these Prefaces were very numerous. The Leonian book has 267 (most, however, doubtless by way of experiment), the Gelasian 54, but the Sacramentary of Gregory has only 10, although the Gallican Appendix adds a large number. The later Roman tendency, then, has been to reduce variability in the Preface.

II. Following the Sanctus, the Eucharistic note is not resumed, and after an Oblation in the "*Te igitur*" the Intercessions follow, ending with the *Communicantes* clause. Another Oblation then follows in "*Hanc igitur oblationem*," followed by a preliminary Invocation in

the "*Quam oblationem*," which, ending with the name of our Lord, leads into the "*Qui pridie*." It is not possible to discuss the origin of this curious and somewhat incongruous collection of prayers intervening between the Sanctus and Institution, but the theory that they are sections of variable Gallican prayers imported into the Canon and made (practically) invariable has considerable probability.

III. After the Institution the Roman Mass has an invariable Anamnesis, Oblation, and what we may call the equivalent of the Invocation (a prayer that God will bless the elements with a view to communion, but by taking them to His heavenly Altar, not by sending down the Holy Spirit). It is commonly held that this clause once contained an explicit Invocation, as in other Liturgies, and that this was removed owing to the Western insistence upon the words of Institution as the form of consecration.

The memento of the dead is now always included in the Canon, but before the ninth century was only said in Masses for the dead (E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 115).

The "*Per quem hæc omnia*" clause is almost certainly the ending of a blessing of the fruits of the earth. In the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus we find such blessings; there is a blessing of honey and milk prefixed to the *per quem* clause in the Leonian book (*Whit-Sunday*, Feltoe, p. 25); of beans in the Gelasian book (*Ascension*, Wilson, p. 107); and there is still a blessing of holy oils here in the Mass for Maundy Thursday. Most probably, then, this clause is not an integral part of the Eucharistic Prayer, and the original ending may have been the *per Christum Dominum nostrum* of the *Supplices Te* clause, the Doxology following immediately upon this.

THE SALUTATION.—The Western and Egyptian Liturgies have “The Lord be with you.” The Antiochene have 2 Cor. xiii. 14, or a variation of this.

SURSUM CORDA, etc.—These introductory versicles and responses are first mentioned by Cyprian (200–258), but as they are given in Ap. Trad. (c. 225), it seems probable that their use goes back at least well into the second century.

THE SANCTUS.—Clement of Rome probably alludes to this (Ep. Cor., c. 34), and the only Liturgies that do not contain it are Ap. Trad. and its derivative, Test. Dom.

BENEDICTUS QUI.—This is certainly a considerably later addition. All the older Liturgies take their cue word for the Prayer after the Sanctus from the Sanctus itself. Possibly the first use of this verse was before Communion, as in the Apost. Const. and Test. Dom., but there is no reason for thinking such use to be general. The Alexandrian rite alone never included the Benedictus Qui.

THE RESPONSES OF THE PEOPLE.—These are confined to the Eastern rites, as the variability of the Western¹ Prayers made such responses impracticable, and also, as Mr. E. Bishop has said in *Lit. Hist.*, p. 122, in the Eastern rites “the people, so far as voiced prayer is concerned, are something in the forms of public worship, in the other (the Roman) as nearly as possible nothing. And in this latter liturgical note I recognise historically the true genuine Roman tendency and spirit.” It is worth while noticing the Antiochene responses of the people at three points in the Prayer. (1) *After the words of Institution*: “We proclaim Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection.” This is in the Jerusalem rite, and that of the Syrian Jacobites. (2) *After the Oblation*: “We hymn Thee, we bless Thee, we give

¹ See, however, pp. 119 and 123 (Mozarabic).

thanks to Thee, O Lord, and we beseech Thee, O our God." This is in the Liturgy of Constantinople, and also in the Syrian Jacobite rite. (3) *After the Anamnesis and Deprecation*, in the Jerusalem and Syrian Jacobite Prayer we have, "Have mercy upon us, O Lord, God, Father, Almighty."

The response made by the people at the conclusion of the Prayer in the Egyptian rite and that of the Syrian Jacobites, "As it was and is," etc., may be very ancient. It is found both in the Ethiopic version of Ap. Trad. and in Serapion.

NOTE I

SOME LITURGICAL VARIATIONS IN THE ACCOUNT OF THE INSTITUTION

1. (A) *Who in the same night . . .* Eastern (some omit the phrase). Mozarabic (probably borrowed from the East). Anglican.
 (B) *Who the day before . . .* Western. No Eastern Liturgy has this.
2. *The night of the Paschal Supper.* Nestorius (and some Syr. Jac. Anaphoras).
3. (A) *In which He was betrayed, or rather surrendered Himself . . .* James (Greek); Chrys. (modern form).
 (B) *In which He surrendered Himself . . .* Chrys. (ninth century); Basil; Mark; Cyril; *Basil*; Greg.
4. *Holy, etc., hands.* Not in Ap. Trad.; Test. Dom.; Serapion; Deir Bal.; Severus; "Gallican."
"Holy, pure, and spotless . . ." In James (Syr.); Chrys.; Nest.; Mark; Greg.
 S. Cyril the most verbose: "Holy, Immaculate, pure blessed, life-giving."
5. *Looking up to Thee . . .* Not in Ap. Trad.; Test. Dom.; Chrys.; Armenia; Theo.; Nest.; Serapion; Deir Bal.; Mozarabic.
6. *Gave thanks . . .* Omitted before "Take, eat" by Ap. Con.; Severus; Nest.; Theo.; Serapion. Severus, Nest. and Theo. have, however, the word "blessed."
7. *And ate.* Nest. (and some Syr. Jac. Anaphoras).
8. *Eat ye all of it.* Cyril, *Basil* (Copt.), Greg. (Copt.); Roman; "Gallican"; Nest.; Theo.

9. "*Do this,*" etc., after "*This is My Body,*" etc. Cyril, Basil, Greg.; Mozarabic; Anglican.
 10. *Mingled with wine and water.* All except Ap. Trad.; Chrys.; Theo.; The Apostles; Western.
 11. *Filled with Holy Ghost.* James and Mark only.
 12. *Drank.* Nest.; Armenia; Cyril, Basil, Greg. (Copt.); Deir Bal.
 13. *Drink ye all.* All except Ap. Trad.; Test. Dom.; The Apostles; Serapion; Mozarabic.
 14. *My death till I come.* So all Liturgies except Rome; Chrys.; Armenia; Theo.; Ap. Trad.; The Apostles; some Ethiopic and Syr. Jac. Anaphoras.
- James (Greek) has "Death of the Son of Man . . . He come."
- Mozarabic has "Death of the Lord till He come in brightness from the heavens."
- Note that James (Greek), Basil, Greg., Cyril, Deir Bal. add "Resurrection." Mark and Basil (Alex.) add also "Ascension." Gallican adds "Second Coming." Test. Dom. has the phrase "Ye make My resurrection" after words of Institution for the bread.

NOTE II

THE INVOCATION

Perhaps the conclusion which seems best to agree with the witness of the extant liturgies and the early references may be stated thus: the earliest form of Invocation was a prayer that that which had been offered might be spiritually efficacious to the communicants. The Invocation, whether upon the elements or upon the communicants, was with a view to communion. If this be so there is no alternative position.

The primitive prayer was fundamentally concerned with gratitude and praise to God, and the subsequent oblation of the elements in obedience to our Lord's command was the outward sign of this Thanksgiving. God must be worshipped and the sacrifice offered before God can return it to man as a Divine food, and so it is not until the Oblation has been made that man

prays that it may now be to him also the Body and Blood of Christ.

The Oblation is the culminating point, or crisis, of the prayer. In view of our Lord's teaching with regard to Pentecost and the descent of the Holy Spirit after His Sacrifice had been accepted, it is quite possible that the Invocation was from Apostolic days an Invocation of the Holy Spirit to communicate the fruits of the Oblation to the worshippers.

Very early, probably, there arose the natural question, "If what we offer is the Body and Blood of Christ, when does it become so?" But, as Dr. Srawley says (*The Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 227), "In the earliest period of which we have evidence no attempt was made to formulate a theory as to the exact form or moment of the consecration of the elements." So far as we can see from the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Origen, the answer to this question would be in some such form as "It becomes so because we offer it as Eucharist in obedience to our Lord's command."

The questioners, however, desired more definite statements, and in the works of Cyril of Jerusalem,¹ Chrysostom,² Theophilus of Alexandria,³ we find the Invocation defined as being the moment of Consecration, but—and this is of importance—not defined as such in relation to the Oblation.

Now in the Egyptian Liturgy of the fourth century we find that an additional Invocation has been inserted before the Oblation. Was this done because of the growth of the conception of the Invocation as the moment of consecration, and the consequent impression

¹ xix. 7; xxi. 3; xxiii. 7.

² *Hom. in Cæmet.* § 3; but cp. *De Prod. Jud.*, i. 6.

³ *Ep. of Jerome*, 98. 13.

that it ought to precede the Oblation? It certainly seems probable that this explains the deferring, in the later Syrian Jacobite Anaphoras, of the Oblation until after the Invocation.

Later Western teaching (Augustine,¹ Ambrose,² De Sacramentis,³ Cæsarius of Arles⁴) lays stress upon the words of our Lord as being the moment of consecration, and Rome seems to have eliminated direct Invocation of the Holy Spirit after the Oblation in order to emphasise this; but, perhaps influenced by Egypt, inserts another, "equivalent to the Invocation," before the Institution.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the earliest forms of Oblation do not define the offerings to be the Body and Blood, though doubtless they were believed to be such. It would seem as though it were felt that the exclusive duty of the worshipper was to thank God and offer as commanded in simple faith; but when the Oblation had been made, then God was invoked to ratify the Sacrifice and communicate it to the worshippers by the sending down of the Holy Spirit.

Note.—The patristic teaching on the Eucharist is fully treated in *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, Darwell Stone (Longmans, 1909). For the "moment of consecration" see also E. Bishop, Appendix to *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Dom Connolly (Cambridge Texts and Studies, viii. 1); Srawley, *E.H.L.*, chap. ix; Scudamore, *Notitia Euch.* (1876), pp. 572-84; Tyrer, *The Euch. Epiclesis*.

¹ *Serm.*, 227. 234.

³ IV. 14, 16, 21, 22, 23.

² *De Mys.*, 52. 54.

⁴ *Hom. V. in Pascha*.

TWENTY-FIVE CONSECRATION PRAYERS

(1) THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION OF HIPPOLYTUS (c. 225) ¹

Translated from Latin text of Hauler, with Ethiopic additions.

THE Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
It is meet and right.²

³ We give Thee thanks, O God, through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, Whom in the last days Thou didst send to us, a Saviour and Redeemer, and Angel of Thy counsel; Who is ⁴ Thy inseparable Word, through Whom Thou didst make all things, and He was well pleasing unto Thee ⁴: Thou didst send Him from heaven into the womb of a Virgin; He was conceived and became incarnate, and was shown to be Thy Son, being born of the Holy Spirit and a Virgin; Who, fulfilling Thy will and acquiring a holy people for Thee, stretched out His hands ⁵ for suffering, ⁵ that He might ⁶ free from suffering those who believed in Thee. And when He was betrayed to His voluntary passion, that He might loose (the pains

¹ For parallels in language with known works of Hippolytus see Connolly, *Eg. Ch. Ord.*, pp. 164-6.

² For omission of "Preface" and Sanctus see p. 17.

³ Notice that Testamentum Domini (Appendix 3), Ethiopic The Apostles, and Ap. Con. (in part) are founded upon this prayer.

⁴⁻⁴ "Verbum tuum inseparabilem, per quem omnia fecisti et bene placitum tibi fuit."

⁵⁻⁵ Latin, "cum pateretur"; Eth. as text.

⁶ For "free from suffering," etc., cp. Ap. Con., pp. 37, 8-10.

of) death and break the chains of the devil, might tread underfoot (the powers of) Hell, and lead forth¹ the righteous, fix the boundary thereof and make known His Resurrection, taking bread and giving thanks to Thee, He said: TAKE, EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU. Likewise also the cup saying: THIS IS MY BLOOD, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU: AS OFTEN AS YE DO THIS YE SHALL DO IT FOR MY MEMORIAL.

² Mindful, therefore, of His death and resurrection, we offer to Thee this bread, and this cup, giving thanks to Thee because Thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before Thee and minister unto Thee: and we beseech Thee that Thou wouldst send Thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of Thy Holy Church; and that joining them together Thou wouldest grant it to all Thy holy ones who partake, for fulfilment with the Holy Spirit and for the confirmation of faith in truth; that we may praise Thee and glorify Thee through Thy Son Jesus Christ; through Whom to Thee be glory and honour, to Father and Son with the Holy Spirit, in Thy Holy Church, both now and to the ages of the ages. Amen.

People. ³ As it was and is and shall be to generation of generations, and to the ages of the ages. Amen. (In Eth. only.)

Note.—There are a few verbal differences between Latin, as above, and the Ethiopic, notably in the Invocation; but none of any real importance.

¹ Latin, "illuminet"; Eth. as text.

² Cp. with corresponding section of Ap. Con. (p. 38), and notice development.

³ This response of the people is an Egyptian feature; cp. pp. 84-109. The Syrian Jacobites probably took it from the Copts; see pp. 49, 55.

ANTIOCHENE GROUP

ANTIOCH, *c.* 375

(2) APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS. BOOK VIII

Translated from Greek text of Brightman, *L.E.W.*, pp. 14-23.

THE grace of Almighty God, and the love of our
Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy
Spirit be with you all.¹

And with thy spirit,

Lift up your mind.²

We lift it up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right.

³ Meet it is, in very truth, and right before all things to sing praise unto Thee, Who verily art Very God, Who art from everlasting, of Whom the whole family in heaven and on earth is named, Who alone art unbegotten, from everlasting, supreme Ruler, supreme Lord, sufficient unto Thyself, the author and giver of all good things, superior to origin and generation, the same yesterday,

¹ The Antiochene (Eastern) Salutation; cp. p. 84.

² "Mind": cp. S. James, p. 39, and East Syria, pp. 68, 72, 77.

³ Cp. with this prayer S. Chrysostom's allusions to Antiochene Liturgy of his day (A.D. 370-398); Srawley, *E.H.L.*, pp. 93, 94; and Brightman, *L.E.W.*, App. C, 473.25 - 474.27. With reference to the claim that this Liturgy represents the general use of the Church in Ante-Nicene days see Fortescue, *The Mass* (Longmans, 1913), pp. 62-6. There is probably some real basis for the "Clementine" attribution (see Lightfoot, *The Apost. Fathers* (London, 1890), I. Vol. II. p. 71); but in its present form this prayer is very largely the work of the pseudo-Ignatius.

to-day and for ever, from Whom as their source all things sprang into being.

For Thou art knowledge that has no beginning, sight before all things seen, hearing before all things heard, wisdom without instruction; the first in nature, alone in existence, and surpassing all numeration. Thou through Thy Only-Begotten Son didst call out of nothing all things into being, having Thyself alone begotten Him before all ages, by Thy will, by Thy power and by Thy goodness, the Only-begotten Son, God the Word, Living Wisdom, Firstborn of every creature, Angel of Thy great counsel, Thy High Priest, King and Lord of all rational and sentient nature, Who was before all things and by Whom all things were made.

For Thou, O Eternal God, through Him having made all things, through Him dost vouchsafe a suitable providence over the universe; for as through Him Thou wast pleased to bring all things into being, so through Him Thou dost grant Thy creation to continue in well-being, O God and Father of Thy Only-Begotten Son, Who by Him in the beginning didst create Cherubim and Seraphim, Æons¹ and Hosts, Powers and Authorities, Principalities and Thrones, Archangels and Angels, and after all these things didst by Him create this visible world, and all things that are therein. . . .

(Here follows a detailed description of God's work in nature.)

And not only hast Thou created the world, but man also, the inhabiter thereof, displaying in him the supreme beauty of Thy beautiful creation.² For Thou didst say

¹ This suggests Gnostic influence, but cp. p. 35. See also pseudo-Ignatius, *Trall.* 5.

² There is here a play upon the two meanings of the word "kosmos."

to Thy Wisdom, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air." Wherefore, also Thou madest him of an immortal soul and a perishable body, the soul out of nothing, the body out of the four elements; the one endowed with reason and the power of judging between piety and impiety, and of taking heed between right and wrong; and the other endowed with the five senses, and the power of motion.

Thou, O Almighty God, didst also by Christ plant a garden eastward in Eden, adorned with every plant that might be for food, and here, as in a rich dwelling-place, Thou didst place man. And when Thou didst make him, Thou gavest him a law in his nature, that in himself and by himself he might have the principles of divine knowledge. And when Thou hadst placed him in this Paradise of pleasure, Thou gavest him the power of enjoying all its delights, of one only forbidding to him the taste with a view to yet greater blessings, so that if he should take heed to the commandment he might receive immortality as the reward of his obedience. But when he had neglected the command and eaten of the forbidden fruit, by the subtlety of a serpent and the counsel of a woman, Thou didst rightly drive him out of Paradise, but of Thy goodness didst not despise him, so that he should utterly perish; for he was the work of Thine Own Hands; but Thou gavest unto him dominion over all things, and didst ordain that he should procure his food by his toil and the sweat of his brow, while Thou, for Thy part, didst make the fruits of the earth to bud and grow and ripen. At last, having caused him to sleep for a short while in death, Thou didst promise by an oath to call him to life again, when Thou shouldest have loosed the bonds

of death; and Thou didst promise him life after resurrection.¹

Nor was this all; but Thou didst likewise multiply his posterity without number, glorifying those who were obedient unto Thee, and punishing those who rebelled against Thee; even as Thou didst accept the sacrifice of Abel as being that of a righteous man, and didst reject the offerings of Cain, who slew his brother, as that of one accursed.

(Here follows a long list of God's benefits to the chosen people, ending abruptly with the fall of Jericho.)

For all these things be glory unto Thee, O Lord Almighty. The innumerable hosts of Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, and the Ageless Hosts² worship Thee; the Cherubim and Seraphim with six wings, with twain covering their feet, with twain their heads, and with twain flying, together with thousand thousands of Archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels; saying unceasingly with unsilenced shouts of praise:—

Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts,³

Heaven and Earth are full of His glory,

⁴ Blessed is He for evermore. Amen.

Thou art indeed holy⁵ and most holy; the most highest and highly exalted for ever. Holy also is Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, Who, in all things ministering to Thee His God and

¹ Cp. Book VII. 34.

² Aïōniōn; cp. p. 33, Note 1.

³ Cp. Clement of Rome, *Ep. Cor.* xxxiv.

⁴ The Benedictus Qui occurs just before Communion, in the Response to Sancta Sanctis: so in Test. Dom.

⁵ Antiochene "cue word" from Sanctus; cp. Egypt, pp. 84-109, "full."

Father, not only in the varieties of creation, but also in the several care of each, did not overlook the perishing human race. But after the law of Nature, the warnings of the positive law, the reproofs of the Prophets, and the guardianship of angels (when men had deliberately perverted both natural and spiritual law, and had forgotten the flood, and the burning (of Sodom) and the plagues of the Egyptians and the slaughter of the nations of Palestine and were on the verge of perishing eternally;) He, Who was man's creator, willingly with Thy approval became man; the Lawgiver to be under the law; the Priest to be Himself the sacrifice, the Shepherd a sheep; and He appeased Thee His God and Father, and reconciled Thee to the world,¹ and freed all men from the overhanging wrath, being born of a virgin and incarnate, God the Word, the beloved Son, the Firstborn of every creature; and according to the prophecies spoken before by Himself concerning Himself, was born of the seed of David and of Abraham, and of the tribe of Judah.

He Who fashions all who are born into this world was fashioned in the Virgin's womb; He Who was without flesh became flesh; He Who was begotten from eternity was born in time. He was holy in His conversation and taught in accordance with the law, and He drove away all manner of disease and sickness from among men, and wrought signs and wonders among the people. He Who feedeth the hungry and filleth all things living with plenteousness partook of food and drink and sleep. He manifested Thy name to those who knew it not; He put ignorance to flight, rekindled piety, fulfilled Thy will and did finish the work Thou gavest Him to do. And when He had duly accomplished all these things, He was seized by the hands of a lawless people; priests and High Priests, falsely so called, and a rebellious mob,

¹ Cp. 2 Cor. vi. 19.

through betrayal by one diseased with wickedness; and having suffered many things at their hands, and having endured all kinds of indignity by Thy permission, was delivered to Pilate the Governor; and the Judge was judged, the Saviour was condemned, He Who is impassible was nailed to the Cross, and He Who is by nature immortal died. The Giver of life was buried in order that He might loose from suffering and free from death those for whose sake He came, and that He might break the chains of the devil and deliver men from his wiles. And on the third day He rose again from the dead, and after continuing forty days with His disciples, He was taken up into Heaven, and sat on the right hand of Thee, His God and Father.

Mindful, therefore, of those things He endured for us, we give thanks to Thee, O God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able, and we fulfil His institution. ¹ For in the night that He was betrayed, He took bread in His holy and spotless hands, and looking up to Thee, His God and Father, He broke ² and gave it to His disciples, saying: THIS IS THE MYSTERY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; ³ TAKE OF IT; EAT; THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS BROKEN FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS.

Likewise also having mingled the cup with wine and water, and having sanctified it, He gave it to them saying: DRINK YE ALL OF IT: THIS IS MY BLOOD, WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS: DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL: FOR AS OFTEN AS YE EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP YE DO SHEW FORTH MY DEATH UNTIL I COME.⁴

¹ For notes on the Institution see p. 26.

² Notice omission of "gave thanks" or "blessed," and see p. 26.

³ Cp. Rome, p. 125.

⁴ Note, p. 27.

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Remembering,¹ therefore, His passion ² and death and resurrection and ascension into the heavens and His future second coming, when He shall come to judge the living and the dead and to render to every man according to his works, we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His institution, this bread and this cup; giving thanks to Thee through Him that Thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before Thee and to ³sacrifice unto Thee. And we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts now lying before Thee, O God Who art in need of nought, and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ, and that Thou wilt send down Thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the body of Thy Christ,³ and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ; that all who shall partake thereof may be confirmed in piety, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may become worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain eternal life, Thou, O Almighty God, being reconciled to them.

(Here follow the Intercessions.) ⁴

For to Thee is due all glory, worship, thanksgiving, honour, and adoration, to Father, Son and Holy Spirit, both now and ever and to unceasing and unending ages of the ages. Amen.

¹ The Antiochene word here; Egypt. has "proclaiming," pp. 84-109.

² Notice addition of events commemorated to those of Ap. Trad., p. 31, and cp. also with S. James, p. 42. All liturgies begin Anamnesis with the Passion or Death except Syr. Jac. anaphoras. Cp. also Greg. (Alex.), p. 100.

³⁻³ Notice development of whole section from "remembering," as compared with Ap. Trad.

⁴ Antiochene position.

(3) "S. JAMES," JERUSALEM¹

Translated from Greek text of Brightman, *L.E.W.*, pp. 49-58.

[The passages in square brackets are not in the Syriac version, Syriac additions and variations are given in curved brackets. For the Syriac version see Brightman, *L.E.W.*, pp. 85-9, and cp. Connolly, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy* (Text and Translation Society, 1913).]

THE love of the Lord and (Syr. God the) Father,
the grace of the Lord and (Syr. the only-
begotten) Son and the communion and gift (Syr.
descent) of the Holy Spirit be with us all.²

And with thy spirit.

Let us lift up our mind and our hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

(Syr. *adds* with fear and worship with trembling)

It is meet and right.

It is in truth meet and right, fitting and due, to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to glorify Thee, to give thanks to Thee, Who art the Creator of all things visible and invisible; [the Treasure of eternal good things, the Fountain of Life and immortality, the God and Master of all things;] Whom Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens hymn, and all the Powers of them; the sun, the moon, and the

¹ Cp. with this prayer the Catecheses of S. Cyril given at Jerusalem in 348 A.D., especially Catechesis XXIII: see Brightman, *L.E.W.*, App. B, pp. 465.5 - 466.13; and Srawley, *E.H.L.*, 84-86. It is probable that there has been no addition or alteration of any importance since the fourth century, but some phrases may have been borrowed from the Byzantine anaphoras. The Syriac translation may perhaps be dated c. 450 (Connolly, *Jour. Theol. Studies*, xiii. 52, pp. 589-91). The Liturgy of S. James (Greek) is used by the Orthodox of Palestine on S. James's Day and the First Sunday after Christmas.

² The Jerusalem Salutation differs both from Antioch (Ap. Con.) and Constantinople.

whole choir of stars; the earth, the sea, and all that in them is; Jerusalem the heavenly assembly, the church of the first-born written in heaven; [the spirits of just men and of prophets; the souls of martyrs and apostles;] Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Authorities and the terrible Powers, the many-eyed Cherubim and the six-winged Seraphim, who with twain of their wings do cover their faces, with twain they cover their feet, and with twain flying they cry the one to the other with unresting mouths and unsilenced doxologies, the triumphal hymn to the Majesty of Thy glory; with clear voice singing, shouting, praising, crying aloud and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,
 Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory (Syr. the
 glory and honour of Thy Majesty),
 Hosanna in the Highest.
 Blessed is He that cometh (Syr. that came and
 cometh, see note, p. 79) in the Name of the Lord.
 Hosanna in the Highest.

¹ Holy art Thou, King of the Ages, and Lord and Giver of all holiness; Holy also Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ [through Whom Thou didst make all things;] Holy also Thy Spirit, the All-Holy, Who searcheth all things, even the deep Things of Thee, Who art God (Syr. and Father). Holy art Thou, Ruler of all, Omnipotent, Good, Terrible, Merciful, of fellow-feeling especially toward Thy creature; Thou ² Who didst make man from the earth [after Thine image and likeness], and didst bestow upon him the delight of

¹⁻¹ Notice that the Non-Jurors' Prayer is taken from this: cp. pp. 131-2.

² This commemoration of O.T. benefits occurs *before* Sanctus in Ap. Con.

Paradise, and when he transgressed Thy command and fell away, Thou didst not disregard him nor forsake him, O Good One, but didst discipline him as a merciful Father, didst call him by the Law, didst educate him by the Prophets; and finally didst send forth into the world Thine Only-Begotten Son [Our Lord, Jesus Christ], in order that [by His coming] He might renew [and restore] Thine image. Who, having descended from heaven and having been made flesh of the Holy Ghost and Mary the Virgin, and Mother of God, lived in fellowship with men, and accomplished all things for the salvation of our race. And when He was about to endure His voluntary [and lifegiving] death [on the Cross], the Sinless for us sinners,¹ in the night in which He was betrayed [or rather surrendered Himself], for the life and salvation of the world, taking bread in His holy and spotless and pure [and immortal] hands, [and looking up to heaven,] and showing it to Thee, the God and Father, He gave thanks (*Syr. inserts* and blessed) and hallowed and brake and gave to His holy disciples and Apostles (*Syr. disciples and Holy Apostles*) saying (*The Deacons*: For the remission of sins and eternal life): TAKE, EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU (*Syr. adds* and for many) AND GIVEN FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS (*Syr. adds* and eternal life). (AMEN.) Likewise also after supper, having taken the cup and mixed it with wine and water [and having looked up to Heaven and showed it to Thee, the God and Father], He gave thanks and hallowed and blessed [and filled with the Holy Ghost] and gave to His holy [and blessed] disciples (*Syr. adds* and holy Apostles), saying: DRINK YE (*Syr. Take, Drink ye*) ALL OF IT: THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS SHED AND GIVEN FOR THE

¹ See note 1, preceding page.

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REMISSION OF SINS (*Syr. adds* and eternal life). (AMEN.)
DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. FOR AS OFTEN AS YE EAT
THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP YE PROCLAIM THE
(*Syr. my*) DEATH [OF THE SON OF MAN] AND CONFESS
HIS (*Syr. my*) RESURRECTION, TILL HE (*Syr. I*) COME.¹
(*The Deacons*: We believe and confess. *The People*:
We proclaim Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy
resurrection.)

Therefore [we also, who are sinners], remembering²
[His lifegiving passion, His saving cross], His death,
His tomb, and resurrection from the dead on the
third day, His ascension into Heaven and the session
on the right hand of Thee, the God and Father, and
His glorious and terrible second coming when He shall
come with glory to judge the quick and the dead (*Syr.*
when Thou shalt judge the world in righteousness),
when He shall render to every man according to his
works; offer to Thee this terrible and unbloody sacrifice,
beseeching³ Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us
after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities,
but according to Thy gentleness and unspeakable love
towards man, passing by and blotting out the hand-
writing that is against us Thy supplicants (*Syr. blot out*
the sins of us Thy servants who intreat Thee) [wouldest
grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye
hath not seen nor ear heard neither hath entered into
the heart of man, the things which Thou, O God, hast
prepared for them that love Thee. And do not, O
Lord and Lover of Men, because of me and my sins,

¹ For notes on the account of the Institution see p. 26.

² This Anamnesis is, perhaps, the most exhaustive in any
primary liturgy. The whole Syriac of this section is addressed
to the Son with corresponding change of pronoun. So all
Syr. Jac. anaphoras.

³ This is the Deprecation peculiar to Jerusalem and tediously
elaborated in the *Syr. Jac. anaphoras*.

set at nought the people]. For Thy people and Thy church entreat Thee (*Syr. adds* and through Thee and with Thee the Father, saying). [Have mercy upon us, O God, the Ruler of all. Have mercy upon us, O God, our Saviour.] Have mercy upon us O God (*Syr. adds* the Father Almighty) according to Thy pity, and send down upon us, and upon these gifts lying before Thee, Thy Spirit, [The All-Holy,] the Lord, and Life-giver, the sharer of the Throne with Thee, the God and Father, and Thy Only-Begotten Son; the sharer of the Kingdom, co-essential and co-eternal, Who spake in the Law and the Prophets and in Thy New Testament ¹; Who descended in the form of a dove upon Our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan [and rested upon Him], Who descended upon Thy Holy Apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues [in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion on the day of the holy Pentecost]. Send down the same Spirit, the All-Holy, O Master, upon us and upon these holy gifts lying before Thee; that He may come upon them with His holy and good and glorious presence, and may hallow and make this bread to be the Holy Body of Christ (Amen), and this cup the precious Blood of Christ (Amen), that they may be to all those who partake of them for the remission of sins and for eternal life,² for the sanctification of soul and of bodies, for the bringing forth of good works, for

¹ This commemoration of the work of the Holy Spirit is peculiar to Jerusalem and S. Mark.

² *Syr. Invocation* : May Thy Holy and Living Spirit, O Lord, come and descend upon me and upon this oblation, that coming down He may make of this bread the lifegiving Body, the redeeming Body, the heavenly Body, the Body which sets free our souls and bodies, the Body of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and eternal life to them that receive. Amen. And the mixture that is in this cup the Blood of the New Testament, the redeeming Blood, etc. For the sanctification, etc.

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the confirmation of Thy Holy [Catholic and Apostolic] Church, which Thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, in order that the gates of Hell may not prevail against it, freeing it from all heresy and scandals that work wickedness, guarding it even to the consummation of the age.

*(Here follow the Intercessions.)*¹

Through the grace and mercies and compassion of Thy Only-Begotten Son, with Whom Thou art to be blessed and glorified, together with Thy All-Holy and good and lifegiving Spirit, now and always and to the ages of the ages. Amen.

SYRIAN JACOBITES. MONOPHYSITES

(4) "S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM"²

Translated from Latin text of Renaudot (Frankfort, 1847), vol. ii. pp. 243-50.

THE love of the Father, the grace of the Son, and
the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with us all.
Amen.

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

It is meet and right.

It is very meet and right that we should give thanks unto Thee; that we should adore, glorify, laud, exalt,

¹ In the *Syr.* the Intercessions follow the Doxology and Amen, and are concluded by another Doxology and the Response "As it was and is," etc.

² Why attributed to S. Chrysostom it is impossible to say. The anaphora of James of Serugh (*Ren.* II. 358) seems to be partly based upon this one, which is, perhaps, one of the more ancient.

honour, hymn with praises, bless and sanctify the one Majesty of the Holy Trinity, consubstantial and adorable in the three persons of Father, Son and Holy Spirit; not indeed that Thy Majesty requires our praise, nor that Thou hast need of our thanksgiving. For those who praise Thee are numberless; High Authorities infinite, the clustering Cherubim, thousands of bright Seraphim and a countless host; multitudes and armies without number; ranks upon ranks of devouring flame; marvellous Powers of burning coal, hidden legions which bear up the chariot of the Cherubim the revolutions of whose wheels¹ are infinite; troops of Seraphim which by the throb of their wings move the threshold; a shining galaxy which out of the midst of the burning coal is discerned by its own movements; thousand thousands who stand before Thee and myriads of myriads who praise Thy Being; and with one clear voice and one loving harmony, with sweet song and ethereal tongue, (they) cry the one to the other and raise their voices in eternal praise saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.

Heaven and earth are full of the glory and honour of Thy Majesty.

Hosanna in the Highest. Blessed is He that came and that cometh² in the Name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

The voices of the Seraphim, O Lord, proclaim Thine Essence, the bands of Cherubim bless Thy hidden nature; troops of Archangels adore Thee. Glory be to Thee, Who hast magnified our feeble race, and joined it to the spiritual throngs of those who praise Thee. Thou, O Lord, through Thy great compassion didst

¹ "Conversiones."

² Note, p. 79.

send Thy beloved Son for our salvation: Who was born of a Holy Virgin, as though by the glance of Thy most holy eye,¹ and took the form of a servant, when, in truth, He was the Son of Thy Majesty: He was made man of His own will, that He might make us divine, according to His good pleasure. He was born from a womb of flesh, that He might regenerate us from a spiritual womb. He was made brother to us by His favour, that He might make us sons to Thee, O Heavenly Father. He raised us from the low estate of servants, and gave us the honour of heirs. He took from us the servitude of hirelings, and placed us in the standing of sons: and gave us a pledge of adoption by which we might boldly call Thee Our Father.

We do not offer to Thee fattened oxen, nor do we sprinkle the blood of lambs or goats or heifers on the horns of the altar, nor do we bind upon us crowns or girdles or the ephod. For He came in flesh to be like man, even Thine Only-Begotten Son, Who in His own self made purification of our sins, through His precious Blood poured out for us. For² in the same night in which He was betrayed to death for the life and salvation of the world, He took bread in His holy hands, and looking up to Thee, the God and Father, He gave thanks, blessed, sanctified and broke, and gave to His disciples, the Holy Apostles, saying: TAKE, EAT OF THIS: FOR THIS IS INDEED³ MY BODY, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS BROKEN AND GIVEN FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS AND ETERNAL LIFE. Likewise also the cup after they had supped, He took and mixed in due proportion with wine and water, and gave thanks, blessed, sanctified

¹ ? "Tanquam nictu oculi purissimi." Cp. James of Serugh, "Tanquam radius ex luce in oculo puro effulgens" (*Ren.* II. 358).

² For the Institution see p. 26.

³ Peculiar to this Liturgy.

and gave to the same disciples, His Holy Apostles, saying: TAKE, DRINK YE ALL OF IT: FOR THIS IS INDEED MY BLOOD, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS SHED AND GIVEN FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS AND ETERNAL LIFE. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. FOR AS OFTEN AS YE SHALL EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP, YE SHALL PROCLAIM MY DEATH TILL I COME. (*People*: We make memorial of Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection.)

Who¹ can tell Thy lofty and eternal magnificence, O Word of God: and who may comprehend Thy voluntary self-emptying for us? Who can narrate Thy wonderful nativity from the Virgin, and who may weigh Thy voluntary sufferings, undeserved and salutary, which Thou didst endure and suffer for us? And who is sufficient to adore and celebrate the whole of Thy ministry of salvation for us?

We, therefore, beseech Thee, O Lord, Most Good, Thou Lover of men, that this oblation which we offer may be received in the presence of Thy Majesty, upon Thy spiritual altar,² which is higher than the heavens, in the dwelling-place of Angels amongst the congregation of Saints, in the place of Thy divine presence, in the transcendent dwelling of Thy secret place; that by it we may be made worthy of the propitiation of our faults and the remission of our sins.

¹ The Anamnesis in the Syr. Jac. anaphoras varies in form, but is sometimes very exhaustive, commemorating the events of Our Lord's life from the Conception, or the Birth, and always ending with the mention of the Second Coming. This leads to the Deprecation, a quite extraordinary feature in these anaphoras and sometimes displaying great imagination. In all these anaphoras the Anamnesis, Oblation (unless when deferred, as often, until after the Invocation), and Deprecation are addressed *to the Son*. The above anaphora is more Catholic in form than many.

² Cp. Rome and De Sacr., pp. 126, 127. See also Severus, p. 53.

And ¹ when Thou dost come to judge the quick and the dead, enter not into judgment with Thy servants; nor let confusion seize us in Thy sight, nor do Thou deny us nor say to us "I know you not," in that great and terrible day of judgment. Cast us not out to the gate of hell, to the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth; but regard, O Merciful Lord, our weakness and poverty, for the sake of Thy Holy Name which has been "called upon us." And as we are made worthy, by Thy favour, of the gift of Thy propitiatory Body and Blood, vouchsafe that we may be one with Thee in holiness, as Thou art One in essence, with Thy Father and Thy Holy Spirit. And, therefore, Thy Holy Church and Thy Heritage in penitence beseeches Thee, and through Thee and with Thee,² Thy Father, saying: (*People*: Have mercy upon us, O God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon us.)

We, therefore, Thy weak and sinful servants, O Lord, give thanks unto Thee, and praise Thee, for all things and on account of all things. (*People*: We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee.) By this supplication made unto Thee, O Lord, God the Father Almighty, may Thy Spirit and Thy sanctifying virtue rest upon this holy thing, and sanctify these oblations;³ and may He descend, rest, and dwell upon, this Bread, and upon this Wine, and may they become One Body and Blood of Thy Only-Begotten Son, by Thy power, and the power of Thy Lively and Holy Spirit. (*People*: Have mercy.) And may This Body of Christ our God be for a pledge of future life; a Body conferring ninefold increase of those promised blessings; a Body preparing

¹ Here the Deprecation begins; see note 3, p. 42.

² The practically invariable formula by which the Invocation is introduced and addressed to the Father.

³ The form of Invocation is unusual; cp. Theodore, p. 76, and Nest. p. 83.

us for those celestial joys which await us, for the renewing of our souls and bodies, for the purification of all uncleanness of flesh and spirit, for our preservation from every device of our wicked enemy and for eternal life. (Amen.) And may that which is mingled in this cup, the Blood of Christ our God, become propitiatory for the faults and sins which we have committed; a Blood that quickens those who discern It with a new life that faileth not; a Blood that guides us to the harbours of peace and the appointed habitation of light, for the renewing of our souls and bodies, for the purification from all uncleanness of flesh and spirit, for our preservation from every device of our wicked enemy and for eternal life. (Amen.) Grant to us by Thy great compassion, O Lord, that, commingled with our souls and bodies, it may be of avail for the propitiation of our faults, the remission of sins and the blotting out of all backslidings, for our attaining the joys which are with thy holy ones, and for life eternal. (Amen.)

(Here follow Intercessions.)

Make us worthy of angelic delights, spiritual exultation, joyous dances, that with these blessed men we may live and rejoice, and with them and amongst them, we may glorify and praise Thy Name most glorious and blessed, as also of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and Thy Holy Spirit. *People*: As ¹ it was and is and shall be to the generations of generations and to the ages of ages. Amen.

¹ Response of the people probably taken from Coptic Monophysites. See p. 31.

(5) SYRIAN JACOBITES. MONOPHYSITES

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH¹

Translated from Latin text of Renaudot (Frankfort, 1847).
vol. ii. pp. 321-7.

² PEACE be with you all.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto God.
It is meet and right.

What thoughts can we conceive, or to what power of speech can we attain, whereby to glorify Thee, as is Thy due, O King of kings and God of all! Who didst create the Authorities endowed with intellect, and didst make every sentient creature; Who didst make man from that which is visible and that which is invisible, with capacity for every excellence and for the divine likeness, that there should be nothing of all things made by Thee, which should not be partaker of Thy favour; so that the very dust might become happy in the contemplation of Thy glory, and might share in the blessings of Angels; that in all Thy works we might marvel at Thee, the acknowledged Creator, and with profound silence honour Thee! For companies of Angels, the ancient ranks of Archangels; Thrones of old established, firm and immovable; Powers and Principalities; the majestic Authorities, the lofty Dominations, the spirits of just men; the Church of the

¹ This also seems to be one of the older anaphoras. It is attributed also to Timothy of Alexandria, and to James of Serugh (see note, p. 44).

² "Peace," etc. See the letter of James of Edessa, *L.E.W.*, 491, 21-30. The use of the Grace, however, goes back to the fourth century.

first-born written in heaven; ¹ the many-eyed Cherubim and the six-winged Seraphim, Beings endowed with the most exalted knowledge; trembling before Thine invisible and incomprehensible Divinity, turning the one to the other, and absorbed in the sight invisible and incomprehensible, they praise thee and cry aloud the Hymn to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, lifting up their voice and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,
 Heaven and Earth are full of the glory and
 honour of Thy Majesty,
 Hosanna in the Highest.
 Blessed is He that came and that cometh ² in
 the Name of the Lord,
 Hosanna in the Highest.

For who is able to show forth Thy Power, and tell of all Thy praise? Thou indeed art truly holy, O God, Father and Source of all things, and He, Who from Thee is Son, co-eternal, equal in wisdom, co-essential, not born in time, equal in every honour with God. Holy also, yea, most holy, is Thy Spirit, Life-giver and Perfecter of all things, who proceeded from Thee the Father, without beginning or time. Therefore all the heavenly hosts glorify Thee, and Thine Only-Begotten Son and Thy Holy Spirit, for Thou art Trinity in Unity. Who indeed is able to search the depths of Thy love towards men? Who when we had sinned by transgressing Thy precepts didst will God the Word, Thine Only-Begotten Son, the splendour of Thy glory, to be the disposer of our salvation? Who, according to Thy good pleasure and of His own free will, taking upon Himself

¹ Compare S. James, p. 40, and note that "the spirits of just men" is not in Syriac version.

² See note, p. 79.

that labour for us, was incarnate from the holy Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, sanctified by the coming of the Holy Spirit; He was conceived, was born, and made in all things like unto us. He took upon Him body, soul and mind, even the whole nature of man, and through His meritorious satisfaction made a way for us into heaven.

Who,¹ when He left to us a Memorial of His saving passion and Cross, He, the Physician of our sins, offering an oblation of Himself for us to Thee, O God and Father, took bread into His hands and lifting them up to heaven, He blessed, He sanctified, He broke, and delivered it to the disciples, His Apostles, saying: TAKE, EAT OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS BROKEN AND GIVEN UNTO ETERNAL LIFE. (AMEN.) Likewise also He took the cup after they had supped, and mixing it with wine and water, He gave thanks, and sanctified and delivered it to the disciples, His Apostles, saying: TAKE, DRINK YE ALL OF IT: THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS POURED FORTH AND GIVEN FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL: FOR AS OFTEN AS YE SHALL EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP YE SHALL PROCLAIM MY DEATH. (*People*: We make memorial of Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection. . . .)

We,² therefore, O Lord Jesus, offering this unbloody sacrifice, implore Thy love towards men, for which Thou didst give Thyself to be a sacrifice for us. For we are mindful of Thy second, glorious and terrible, appearance, when Thou shalt sit upon Thy lofty and dreadful Throne, and around Thee shall stand thousand

¹ For notes on the Institution see p. 26.

² Oblation precedes Anamnesis (of Second Coming only), which, as in all Jac. anaphoras, is addressed to the Son.

thousands of Angels; and a stream of fire shall descend, and consume the wicked without mercy; and all men shall render an account of their works, having no need of accuser or advocate, but the very works which they have done shall be rehearsed, for their thoughts themselves shall accuse or acquit them. When fire shall test the work of every man; when there shall be no opportunity of excuse, even to the wise and learned, in that terrible time; when quaking and fear shall fall upon all reasonable creatures, and every mouth shall be stopped, and confusion shall seize the wicked and foolish; when a brother will not be an aid, and pity will not be of avail, nor will fathers be any protection; when vengeance without mercy will follow those who did not know mercy. In that day, turn not Thy face from us and despise not Thine heritage that it should be delivered to eternal torments. Let us not be heirs of darkness where is no ray of light, nor do Thou make us outcasts from Thy fellowship, O Lord; nor deny us and say to us, "For I know you not"; place us not on Thy left hand, with those who saw Thee hungry and fed Thee not, sick and visited Thee not; but acknowledge us and number us in the company of those who have done Thy will. Therefore, Thy people and Thine heritage beseech Thee, and through Thee and with Thee, Thy Father.¹

Have mercy upon me, O God, Father Almighty, and regard the groans and sighs of Thy people, but not, O Lord, the impurity of my lips, uncleanness of my tongue, or my mind full of wickedness; but receive upon Thy spiritual and supercelestial altar ² This Sacrifice for a sweet savour; ³ [and send to us from Thy holy

¹ See note 2, p. 48, and note 1, p. 55.

² See note 2, p. 47.

³ This passage is very close to that in S. Mark, p. 90.

height the Paraclete, Thy Spirit, the Lord and Life-giver, Who spake in the Law, the Prophets and Apostles; Who is everywhere present and fills all things; Who by His Own power works sanctification in those who are worthy;]¹ (*People*: Lord, have mercy);² send Him down upon us and upon these oblations lying before Thee and sanctify them, that He may make this bread to be the Lifegiving Body, the Celestial Body, the Saving Body, both of our souls and bodies, even the Body of Our Lord, God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and everlasting life to those who partake of It; and that He may make that which is mingled in this cup the Blood of the New Testament, the Life-giving Blood, the Saving Blood, even the Blood of our Lord, God, and King of all, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for life eternal to those who partake of it.²

O Lord, even as these gifts are consecrated by Thy grace and power, so grant to all who shall partake of them that no one may be held back or denied access to those mysteries by reason of the hardness of an angry or impenitent heart, but that all may be converted and disposed according to Thy good pleasure, for Thou art He Who dost make, convert, and order all things for good. Ingraft in us Thy fear, and the hope of eternal life; and to Thee we offer up glory, and to Thine Only-Begotten Son, and to Thy Spirit, all holy and good, and adorable, and life-giving and consubstantial with Thee, now and ever, and world without end.

(The intercessions follow.)

That in this as well as all other things, Thy most

¹ See note 3, preceding page.

²⁻² This passage is nearly identical with *Basil* (Alex.); see p. 95.

honourable and blessed Name, as also of our Lord Jesus Christ and Thy Holy Spirit, may be praised and exalted.¹

CONSTANTINOPLE

(6) S. CHRYSOSTOM²

Translated from Greek text of Brightman, *L.E.W.*, pp. 384-90.

(The passages in brackets are not in the ninth-century MS. (*L.E.W.*, pp. 321-337).)

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love
of the God and Father, and the fellowship of the
Holy Spirit, be with you all.³

And with thy spirit.

Let us lift up our hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right [to worship the Father,
Son and Holy Ghost, Consubstantial and
Undivided Trinity].

It is meet and right to hymn Thee, [to bless Thee, to
praise Thee,]⁴ to give thanks to Thee, to worship Thee,
in every place of Thy dominion. For Thou art God,

¹ The MS., according to Renaudot, sometimes omits responses of people. Probably "As it was and is," etc., follows this Doxology. Compare p. 44 and p. 49.

Dr. Fortescue (*Lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 347-8) thinks that these Syr. Jacobite anaphoras are seldom, if ever, used, and that the anaphora of S. James, or its shortened form, is said.

² This Prayer is used on all days except the few when S. Basil (or the Pre-sanctified) is used. There is no particular reason for doubting that Chrysostom wrote this Prayer, though there is no early attestation; unless the anaphora of Nestorius be accepted as evidence of the existence and authority of this Prayer in the fifth century. See note, p. 77.

³ The Byzantine form is much closer to 2 Cor. xiii. 14 than are the Antiochene or Jerusalem forms.

⁴ From S. Basil.

ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, the same from everlasting to everlasting. Thou and Thine Only-Begotten Son and the Holy Spirit. Thou it was Who didst bring us forth to being out of nothing, and when we had fallen didst raise us up again, and gavest not over until Thou hadst done all things, that Thou mightest bring us to Heaven, and bestow on us Thy Kingdom to come. For all these things we give thanks to Thee, and to Thine Only-Begotten Son, and Thy Holy Ghost, for all that we know, and that we know not, of the seen and the unseen benefits that are come upon us. We give thanks to Thee also for this Ministry which Thou hast vouchsafed to receive at our hands; although there stand by Thee thousands of Archangels and ten thousands of Angels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim that have six wings and are full of eyes, and soar aloft on their wings, singing, crying aloud, shouting and saying the Triumphal Hymn—

Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts,

Heaven and Earth are full of Thy glory,

Hosanna in the Highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord,
Hosanna in the Highest.

We also with these [blessed] powers, O Master, Lover of men, cry aloud, and say : Holy art Thou and All-Holy, Thou and Thine Only-Begotten Son and Thine Holy Spirit. Holy art Thou and All-Holy, and great is the Majesty of Thy glory; Who didst so love the world as to give Thine Only-Begotten Son, that whoso believeth in Him might not perish but have everlasting life : Who ¹ having come and having fulfilled for us all the dispensation, in the night wherein He [was given up, or

¹ For notes on the Institution see p. 26. Notice the great brevity and simplicity of this account. The passages in brackets are all taken from S. Basil.

rather,] gave Himself up [for the life of the world], took bread in His holy and pure and spotless hands, and gave thanks, and blessed, [and hallowed] and brake, and gave to His holy disciples and apostles, saying : TAKE, EAT : THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS [BROKEN] FOR YOU [FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS]. (AMEN.) Likewise after supper, He took the cup, saying : DRINK YE ALL OF IT : THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW COVENANT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.)

We, therefore, remembering this salutary precept,¹ and all that happened for us : the Cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into Heaven, the session on the right hand, the second and glorious coming again ; in relation to all and through all,² we offer to Thee Thine Own of Thine Own.³ (*Choir* : We hymn Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord, and pray of Thee, Our God.) Moreover, we offer to Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice ; we beseech Thee and pray and supplicate ; send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts lying before Thee.⁴ (*Deacon* : Sir, Bless the Holy Bread.) And make this bread the Precious Body of Thy Christ.⁵ (Amen.) (*Deacon* : Sir, Bless the Holy Cup.) And that which is in this cup, the Precious Blood of Thy Christ. (Amen.) (*Deacon* : Sir, Bless them both.) Changing them by

¹ This suggests that "Do this . . ." was originally in this Prayer as in all other Liturgies.

² Cp. Basil, and also Basil and Greg. (Alex.), pp. 94, 100.

³ 1 Chron. xxix. 14. Dr. Neale (Introduction, *H.E.C.*, p. 490) thought that the phrase was probably incorporated into the Liturgy from Justinian's inscription on the altar of S. Sophia, "Thy Servants, Justinian and Theodora, O Christ, offer Thee Thine Own of Thine Own gifts," as a compliment to the Emperor. Compare Basil, Armenian and Egyptian Liturgies.

⁴ In the ninth-century MS. "Changing (it) by Thy Holy Spirit" occurs here as well as after "Blood of Thy Christ."

⁵ The private devotions sometimes inserted here are modern and not part of the Liturgy.

58 TWENTY-FIVE CONSECRATION PRAYERS

Thy Holy Spirit. (Amen, Amen, Amen.) (*Deacon*: Holy Sir, remember me, a sinner.) So that they may be to those who partake for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the Holy Spirit, fulfilment of the Kingdom [of Heaven], and boldness towards Thee, and not to judgment nor to condemnation. And moreover we offer to Thee this reasonable service, etc.

(*Here follow the Intercessions.*)

And send forth on us all Thy mercies, and grant us with one mouth and one heart to glorify and praise Thy glorious and majestic Name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever and to the ages of the ages. Amen.

CONSTANTINOPLE

(7) S. BASIL¹

Translated from Greek text of Brightman, *L.E.IV.*, pp. 402-10.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of the God and Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you all.

And with thy spirit.

Let us lift up our hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right [to worship the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Consubstantial and Undivided Trinity].

¹ This Prayer is used on (1) Sundays in Lent, except Palm Sunday; (2) Holy Thursday and Saturday; (3) Vigils of Christmas and Epiphany; (4) S. Basil's Day.

There are very few additions to the ninth-century MS.; these are in brackets. There is considerable resemblance between this Prayer and that of S. James on which it was probably based. For parallels in S. Basil's own works and elsewhere see *L.E.IV.*, App. N, pp. 522.10-523.11, and App. O, p. 529, 15-20. See also Srawley, *E.H.L.*, p. 118.

I AM, Master, Lord, God, Father, Almighty, Adorable : it is truly meet and right and befitting the majesty of Thy holiness, to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to give thanks to Thee, to glorify Thee, the one sole existing God, and to offer to Thee, with a contrite heart and a humble spirit, this one reasonable service ; for Thou art He Who hath vouchsafed to us the knowledge of Thy truth ; and who is able to express Thy noble acts, to make all Thy praises to be heard, or to tell of all Thy wondrous works at every time ? Master of all things, Lord of heaven and earth, and of all creation visible and invisible, Who sittest upon the throne of glory, and beholdest the abysses, without beginning, invisible, incomprehensible, infinite, immutable, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the great God and Saviour of our hope ; Who is the image of Thy goodness, its seal of an exact stamp, manifesting Thee the Father in Himself, Living Word, Very God, Wisdom before all ages, Life, Sanctification, Power, the True Light by Whom the Holy Spirit was manifested, Who is the Spirit of Truth, the grace of adoption, the pledge of the future inheritance, the firstfruits of the eternal good things, the lifegiving power, the fount of sanctification, by Whom every creature, reasonable and intelligent, is empowered to do Thee service and ascribe unto Thee the everlasting doxology ; for all things are Thy servants. For Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, and the many-eyed Cherubim praise Thee ; around Thee stand the Seraphim, each of them having six wings, and with twain they cover their faces, and with twain they cover their feet, and with twain they do fly, shouting one to the other with unceasing mouths and unsilenced doxologies, singing, crying aloud, shouting and saying, the Triumphal Hymn—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,
 Heaven and Earth are full of Thy glory,
 Hosanna in the Highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord,
 Hosanna in the Highest.

With these blessed Powers, O Master, Lover of men, we, who are sinners, also cry aloud and say : Holy Thou art, in very truth, and All-Holy, there is no measure for the majesty of Thy holiness, and Thou art sacred in all Thy works, for in righteousness and true judgment didst Thou order all things for us,¹ for having formed man, taking clay from the earth, and having honoured him, O God, with Thine own image, Thou didst place him in the paradise of pleasure, promising him immortality of life and enjoyment of eternal good things in the observance of Thy commandments : but when he had disobeyed Thee, the True God, his Creator, having been led away by the deceit of the serpent, and was subjected to death through his own transgressions, Thou didst cast him forth in Thy righteous judgment, O God, from Paradise into this world, and didst turn him again to the earth from which he was taken, providing for him the salvation of regeneration which is in Him Thine Anointed One. For Thou didst not turn away utterly from Thy creature whom Thou madest, O Good One, nor didst Thou forget the work of Thy hands, but didst visit him in divers manners through the bowels of Thy mercies. Thou didst send forth prophets ; Thou didst perform mighty works through Thy saints who were well-pleasing to Thee in each generation ; Thou didst speak to us by the mouth of Thy servants the Prophets, foretelling to us the salvation that shall be ; Thou gavest the Law for an help ; Thou didst appoint angels as guardians. But when the fullness

¹ Cp. all the following passage with Ap. Con. and S. James.

of the times were come, Thou spakest to us in Thy Son Himself, through Whom, also, Thou didst make the ages; Who being the visible glory of Thy glory and the Exact Impression of Thine essential Self, and upholding all things by the Word of His power, thought it not a prize to be equal with Thee, His God and Father, but being God before the ages, appeared upon the earth, and lived in fellowship with men, and being incarnate from a Holy Virgin, emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made like to the body of our humiliation that He might make us like to the image of His glory.

For since through man sin had entered into the world and death through sin, Thine Only-Begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of Thee, the God and Father, being born of a woman, the holy Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, born under the law, was pleased to condemn sin in His flesh, that those who died in Adam might be made alive in Him, Thine Anointed One. And having been a denizen of this world and given us precepts of salvation, and having turned us away from the errors of idolatry, He brought us unto the knowledge of Thee, the True God and Father, having obtained us for Himself; a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation; and having cleansed us with water, and hallowed us with the Holy Spirit, He gave Himself a ransom unto death, wherein we were held, having been sold under sin; and having descended into Hades by means of the Cross, that He might fill all things with Himself, He loosed the pangs of death; and having risen again on the third day and having made a way for the resurrection of all flesh from the dead, because it was not possible that the Prince of Life should be conquered by corruption, He became the firstfruits of them that slept, the First-Begotten from the dead, that in all things and over all things He might have the pre-eminence; and ascending into the Heavens, He sat

down on the right hand of Thy Majesty in the highest. And He shall also come again to render to every man according to his works. And He left to us as memorials of His saving Passion these things which we have set forth according to His commands: for when He was about to go forth to His voluntary, laudable and lifegiving Death, in the night¹ wherein He gave Himself up for the life of the world He took bread in His holy and spotless hands, and having shown it² to Thee, His God and Father, and having given thanks, blessed, hallowed and broken it, He gave it to His holy disciples and Apostles, saying: TAKE, EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.) Likewise also, taking the cup of the fruit of the vine,³ having mingled it, given thanks, blessed, and hallowed it, He gave to His holy disciples and Apostles, saying: DRINK YE ALL OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD [OF THE NEW TESTAMENT], WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.) DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL: FOR AS OFTEN AS YE EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP, YE PROCLAIM MY DEATH AND CONFESS MY RESURRECTION.

Therefore, O Master, we also, mindful of His saving passion, the lifegiving Cross, the three days in the tomb, the resurrection from the dead, the ascension to the heavens, the session on Thy right hand, the God and Father, and His glorious and terrible second coming, offer to Thee Thine Own of Thine Own, in relation to all and through all.⁴ (*Choir*: We hymn Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord, and pray of Thee, our God.)

Therefore, Master, All-Holy, we also, Thy sinful and

¹ For notes on the Institution see p. 26.

² Peculiar to S. Basil; cp. Severus, p. 52.

³ Cp. Greg. (Alex.), p. 100. ⁴ See notes 2 and 3, p. 57.

unworthy servants who have been accounted worthy to minister at Thy holy altar, not because of our righteousness, for we have done nothing good upon earth, but because of Thy mercies and compassions, which Thou hast richly poured out upon us, have boldness to draw near to Thy Holy Altar, and offering the antitypes¹ of the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, we pray of Thee and implore Thee, O Holy of Holies, in the good pleasure of Thy bounty, that Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts lying before Thee, and bless and hallow and make² this bread to be the Precious Body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. (Amen.) And that which is in this cup to be the Precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ (Amen), which was poured out for the life [and salvation] of the World. (Amen, Amen, Amen.) That Thou wouldest unite all of us who are partakers of the One Bread and of the Chalice to one another into the fellowship of One Holy Spirit, and not cause any of us to partake of the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ unto judgment or condemnation, but that we may find mercy and grace with all Thy Saints, who from of old have been well-pleasing unto Thee: Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Heralds, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Teachers, and every just spirit, perfected in faith. Especially of our all-holy, immaculate, most blessed, and glorious Lady, Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary.

(Here follow the Intercessions.)

And grant us with one mouth and one heart to glorify and praise Thy glorious and majestic Name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit now and ever, and to the ages of the ages. (Amen.)

¹ Cp. Serapion, p. 86; De Sacr., p. 127; Test. Dom., p. 144. So Ap. Con., vi. 30 (Didaskalia).

² See note 4 on Prayer of S. Chrys., p. 57.

ARMENIA. MONOPHYSITE.

(8) S. ATHANASIUS ¹

Translation from *The Armenian Liturgy* by Two Armenian Priests, by the kind permission of Messrs. Cope and Fenwick.

MAY the grace and the love and the divine and sanctifying power of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit be with you all.

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts with fear unto the Lord.²

We lift them up unto Thee, O Lord, God Almighty.

Give thanks unto God with your whole heart.²

It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet and right that we should at all times and in all places worship and glorify Thee, O God, the Father Almighty, Who hast removed the hindrance of the curse by the operation of Thine inscrutable Word which made of the faithful a church; accounted all who believe in Thee as His; and didst deign to dwell amongst us in a visible and human form assumed in the womb of the Virgin; and vouchsafed to mankind the certain hope of an eternal life. Wherefore, He before Whom the untiring legions of watchers dare not stand, dazzled by the unapproachable light of the Godhead, having become man for our salvation, has allowed us to unite in spiritual harmony with the choirs of angels. (*Deacon*: Sir, give the blessing.) With Seraphim and Cherubim to sing

¹ This is the only anaphora in use, which is unique in the East. The title, of course, has no validity. The Liturgy was formulated in Armenian at about the beginning of the fifth century.

² These two versicles are said by the Deacon, and before saying, "Lift up," he exclaims, "Guard the door with all wisdom and precaution."

in unison and with confidence in our hearts to cry aloud and say—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,
Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Majesty, of
Thy glory,
Hosanna in the Highest.
Blessed be Thou Who art come and Who art to
come¹ in the Name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the Highest.

Holy, Holy, Holy art Thou verily, and most Holy. Who is he that can measure the immensity of Thy mercy, Thou Who from the first didst watch over and comfort man fallen in sin, by means of the Prophets, of the Books of the Law, of the Priesthood, and by the offering of kine, symbolical of another sacrifice? Thou Who at the time ordained didst remit the burden of our debts and gave us Thine Only-Begotten Son, both debtor and debt, victim and offering, Lamb and bread of Heaven, High Priest and sacrifice; for He indeed is the Distributor, and He is distributed among us without being consumed, and having become man, not in semblance only, but in very truth being incarnate from the womb of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, He took upon Himself the passions of human life, yet was without sin, and of His own free will suffered death upon the Cross, giving life to the world and redemption to mankind. Then,² taking the bread in His holy, divine, immaculate and lifegiving hands, He blessed it, and when He had given thanks, brake it, and gave it to His disciples,³ saying: (*Deacon*: Sir, give the blessing.) TAKE, EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR

¹ Cp. S. James (*Syr.*) and East Syria, p. 79.

² For Notes on Institution see p. 26.

³ *L.E.W.*, p. 437, adds, "Sitting at meat with Him."

66 TWENTY-FIVE CONSECRATION PRAYERS

THE EXPIATION¹ AND REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.)
 In like manner, having taken the cup, He blessed it, and after He had given thanks, drank, and gave it to His disciples,² saying: (*Deacon*: Sir, give the blessing.)
 DRINK YE ALL OF THIS: THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE EXPIATION AND REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.)
 (*Clerks*: O Heavenly Father, Who for us hast delivered up to death Thy Son, as the debtor of our debts; for the sake of His Blood, which has been shed, we implore Thee to have mercy upon us, Thy human flock.)

³ And Thine Only-Begotten Son, having commanded us always to do this in remembrance of Him, descended into the abyss of death in the body which He took of our nature; and having victoriously thrown down the gates of hell, made Thee known unto us the only true God, God of the quick and of the dead.

We, therefore, O Lord, obeying this command and presenting unto Thee this saving mystery of the Body and Blood of Thine Only-Begotten Son, do recall the sufferings He endured for our salvation, His crucifixion that gave us life, His burial of three days, His blessed resurrection, His Ascension as God, and His sitting at Thy right hand, O Father; and we acknowledge and bless His awful and glorious second advent. (*Deacon*: Sir, give the blessing.) We offer unto Thee Thine Own gifts in all things and for all.⁴ (*Clerks*: In all things Thou art blessed, O Lord; we bless Thee, we praise Thee, we give thanks unto Thee, we pray to Thee, O Lord our God.)

We justly praise Thee, O Lord our God, and render

¹ Peculiar to this Prayer.

² *L.E.W.*, p. 437, "Sitting at meat with Him."

³ This Prayer, embodying "Do this," peculiar to Armenia.

⁴ *L.E.W.*, p. 438, translates as Constantinople = "Thine Own of Thine Own."

Thee incessant thanks, Who without regard to our unworthiness hast made us ministers of a Sacrament so awful and unspeakable; not because of any merit of our own of which we are altogether bereft, but trusting solely in Thy boundless mercy, we dare approach the ministry of the Body and Blood of Thine Only-Begotten, our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to whom belongs glory, power and honour, now and for ever.¹ Amen.

(*Deacon* : Sir, give the blessing.) Peace be with you all. (*Clerks* : And with thy spirit. *Deacon* : Let us adore God. *Clerks* : In Thy presence, O Lord, O Son of God, Who hast offered Thyself to the Father as a Sacrifice for our reconciliation, and hast given Thyself to us as the Bread of Life, we implore Thee, by the shedding of Thy Divine Blood, to have pity on the flock ransomed by Thee at so high a price.)

² We adore and we beseech and ask Thee, O good God, send down upon us and upon these gifts here set forth Thy co-eternal and consubstantial Holy Spirit (*Deacon* : Amen. Sir, give the blessing.) : by Whom blessing this bread Thou wilt make it truly the Body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (*Deacon* : Amen. Sir, give the blessing); and blessing this cup Thou wilt make it really the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (*Deacon* : Amen. Sir, give the blessing.) : by Whom blessing this bread and this wine Thou wilt make them truly the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, changing them by Thine Holy Spirit.² (Amen.) To all us here assembled may the approach unto this Sacrament be not condemnation, but expiation and pardon of our sins.

(*Here follow the Intercessions.*)

¹ The Doxology, Pax, and Response suggest East Syrian influence.

²⁻² For these twelve lines (the Invocation) I have substituted a translation from *L.E.W.*, p. 439, as representing Gregorian text.

68 TWENTY-FIVE CONSECRATION PRAYERS

Purify our thoughts and make us temples worthy to receive the Body and Blood of Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, unto Whom with Thee, O Father Almighty, together with Thy life-giving and sanctifying Holy Spirit, our Deliverer, belong glory, power and honour, now, ever, world without end. Amen.

EAST SYRIA (NESTORIAN)

(9) ADAI AND MARI¹

Translation from *The Liturgy of Adai and Mari*, by permission of the S.P.C.K.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with us all now, always, and for ever and ever.

Amen.

Lift up your mind.

Unto Thee, the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Israel, O glorious King,²

The oblation is offered to God, the Lord of all.

It is meet and right. (*Deacon* : Peace be with us.)

(*Here the Priest says a Kushapa*.³)

Worthy of glory from every mouth, and of confession by every tongue, and of adoration and exaltation from

¹ Adai, one of the Seventy, and Mari, his disciple. The Prayer is doubtless very ancient, but there may be later accretions and distortions in it. There is no MS. authority for the insertion of the account of the Institution, but it is not impossible that originally it had place here (cp. Connolly, *Homilies of Narsai*, Text and Studies Society, pp. lvi, lxiii). This Prayer is the normal use of the Nestorians; on a few days Nestorius, or Theo., are used.

² Notice elaboration of this Response and following versicle and cp. Nest. and Theo.

³ Kushapas (private prayers said kneeling) are undoubtedly a later insertion.

all creatures, is the adorable and glorious Name of Thy glorious Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Who didst create the world in Thy grace and its inhabitants in Thy pitifulness; Who didst save mankind by Thy compassion and hast showed great grace unto mortals. Thousand thousands of those on high bless and adore Thy Majesty, O my Lord; and ten thousand times ten thousand holy angels, and hosts of spiritual beings, ministers of fire and spirit, glorify Thy Name; and the holy Cherubim and spiritual Seraphim, offering adoration to Thy Sovereignty, crying and praising without ceasing, calling one to another and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,
Heaven and earth are full of Thy praises and of the
nature of Thy Being and of the excellency of Thy
glorious splendour.

Hosanna in the Highest.

Hosanna to the Son of David.

Blessed is He Who came and Who cometh ¹ in the
Name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the Highest.

(Here the Priest says a Kushapa.)

With these heavenly hosts we confess Thee, O my Lord, even we Thy servants, weak and frail and miserable. For Thou hast shown great grace unto us which cannot be repaid, in that Thou didst put on our humanity that Thou mightest quicken us by Thy divinity, and Thou hast exalted our low estate and hast restored us from our fall; Thou hast raised us out of a state of death and Thou hast forgiven our debts and justified us from our guilt; Thou hast enlightened our knowledge, and hast condemned, O our Lord and our God, our enemies, and

¹ Note, p. 79.

hast granted victory to the weakness of our frail nature in the abundant mercies of Thy grace.¹ For all Thy aids and graces towards us, let us lift up to Thee praise and honour and confession and adoration, now, always and for ever and ever. (Amen.) (*Deacon* : Pray in your minds. Peace bē with us.)

(*Here the Priest says a Kushapa.*)

Do Thou, my Lord, in Thy many and unspeakable mercies, make a good and acceptable memorial for all the just and righteous fathers who have been well-pleasing before Thee, in the commemoration of the Body and Blood and Holy Altar, as Thou hast taught us, and grant us Thy safety and Thy peace all the days of the world. Yea, our Lord and our God, grant us Thy safety and Thy peace all the days of the world, that all the inhabitants of the earth may know Thee, that Thou art God, the only true Father, and Thou didst send our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son and Thy beloved, and He, our Lord and our God, came, and in His lifegiving gospel taught us all the purity and holiness of the prophets and apostles, of the martyrs and confessors, of the bishops and doctors, of the priests and deacons, and of all the children of the Holy Catholic Church, even those who have been signed with the living sign of Holy Baptism.

We also, my Lord, Thy weak, frail and miserable servants, who are assembled in Thy Name and stand before Thee at this moment, have by tradition received the example from Thee,² rejoicing and glorifying and exalting and commemorating and celebrating unto Thee this great and awful and holy and lifegiving and divine

¹ *L.E.W.* and *S.P.C.K.* edition insert Institution at this point; so also Neale (Intro., *H.E.C.*, p. 484).

² Dr. Woolley (*Lit. Prim. Ch.*, p. 91) suggests that the Institution originally occurred here, and compares Ap. Con. (p. 37), "And we fulfil His institution."

mystery, of the passion and death and burial and resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.¹ (*Deacon* : In silence and awe stand ye and pray.)

AND MAY THY HOLY SPIRIT, O MY LORD, come and rest upon this oblation of Thy servants, and may He bless it and hallow it,² and may it be to us, O my Lord, for the pardon of debts and for the forgiveness of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who have been well-pleasing to Thee. For all this great and wonderful dispensation towards us, we give Thee thanks and glorify Thee without ceasing, within Thy Church redeemed by the precious blood of Thy Christ, with unclosed mouths and unveiled faces. Lifting up glory and honour and confession and adoration, to Thy living and holy and lifegiving Name, now, always, and for ever and ever. (Amen.)

(10) THEODORE³ (WEST SYRIAN)

Translation from *The Liturgy of Adai and Mari*, by permission of the S.P.C.K.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with us all, now and ever, always and for ever and ever.

Amen.

¹ This is the Anamnesis.

² Notice the very primitive type of Invocation; compare Ap. Trad., p. 31.

³ Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428). Quite possibly this is based on an anaphora or writing of his. It seems to have been in existence when Narsai wrote (Connolly, pp. lxxviii-lxxi). It has doubtless been adapted, as also that of Nestorius, to East Syrian usage. It is used by the Nestorians from Advent to Palm Sunday.

Above in the exalted heights, in the awful place of glory, where the waving of the wings of the cherubin ceases not, nor the hallelujahs and sweet chanting, Holy, Holy, Holy, of the seraphin, thither lift up your minds.¹

Unto Thee the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel, O glorious King.

The living and reasonable oblation of our Firstfruits, and the unslain and acceptable sacrifice of the Son of our race, for all created things to their utmost bound, is offered to God the Lord of all.¹

It is meet and right. (*Deacon* : Peace be with us.)

(*Here the Priest says a Kushapa.*)

It is meet, my Lord, every day, and right at every time and fitting every hour, to confess Thy Holy Name, and to worship Thy Majesty in every land and every place, even Thee, O God the Father of Truth, the Being from everlasting, and Thy Only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever.² For Thou art the Lord and Maker of all things visible and invisible, Who through Thy Only-Begotten Son God the Word, Who is the light of Thy glory and the brightness from Thee and the image of Thy Being, hast created and established the heaven and the earth and all that is therein. [And by the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, Who is from Thee the Father, all rational natures visible and invisible are strengthened and sanctified and made worthy to lift up praise to Thine adorable Godhead.]³ For before Thee, O God the Father of Truth, and before Thy Only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and before the Holy Spirit, stand a

¹ Notice elaboration of these versicles.

² This opening passage seems to echo S. Chrysostom.

³ Cp. this passage with Nestorius, p. 78.

thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand holy angels; these for the joy of their lives, in the constancy of their wills, hallow Thy great and holy Name in constant praise. And Thou hast, my Lord, in Thy grace, made even the feeble race of men—mortal men—worthy to lift up glory and honour, with all the companies of those on high, to Thy Almighty Sovereignty,¹ even with those who at all times before the majesty of Thy holiness lift up their voice to glorify Thy glorious Trinity which in three Persons co-equal and undivided is confessed, crying and praising without ceasing, calling one to another and saying—

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD OF HOSTS, HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE FULL OF THY PRAISES AND OF THE NATURE OF THY BEING AND OF THE EXCELLENCY OF THY GLORIOUS SPLENDOUR. HOSANNA IN THE HIGHEST, HOSANNA TO THE SON OF DAVID. BLESSED IS HE WHO CAME AND WHO COMETH² IN THE NAME OF THE LORD. HOSANNA IN THE HIGHEST.

(Here the Priest says a Kushapa.)

Verily, O Lord, Thou art holy and glorious for ever and ever. Holy art Thou, O God the Father of Truth, holy is also Thy Only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, holy in truth is also the Holy Spirit, Divine Essence uncreate, Maker of all things, Who in His essence from everlasting in truth is holy; holy is His Name and holy is His habitation, and He sanctifieth in truth all those who are made worthy to receive the gift of His grace. We lift up praise and honour and confession and adoration, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. We worship Thee, O my Lord, and we confess Thee and

¹ Cp. with Nestorius, p. 79.

² See note, p. 79.

we glorify Thee, for the sake of all Thy graces towards us. For Thou hast created us out of nothing and hast made us worthy of the great honour of free-will and of consciousness, and from everlasting and in every hour Thou carest for the upholding of our lives; before Thy great and awful Name we kneel and adore, and with us all the companies of those above praise and give thanks, for Thy unspeakable grace. For, for us men and for our salvation, the Only-Begotten¹ [God the Word, Who is the likeness of God, counted it not robbery to be the equal of God, but emptied Himself and took the likeness of a servant, when He descended from heaven and put on our humanity, a mortal body and a reasonable, intelligent and immortal soul, of the holy Virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit]; and through them He fulfilled and perfected all this great and wonderful dispensation, which had been prepared in Thy foreknowledge from before the foundations of the world. Thou hast fulfilled it now in the last times, through Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. And He is the Head of the Church and the Firstborn from the dead and He is the fulfilment of all, and all in Him is fulfilled. Who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, and hath sanctified us by the offering of His body once, and made peace by the blood of His Cross, through Him, to things in heaven and to things in earth. Who was delivered for our sins, and rose that we might be justified. And with His Holy Apostles in that night in which He was betrayed,² He celebrated this great and holy and divine mystery, taking the bread in His holy hands. And He blessed and brake, and gave to His disciples, and said: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN

¹ Compare passage in brackets with Nestorius, p. 80.

² For notes on the Institution see p. 26.

FOR THE LIFE OF THE WORLD FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS: After the same manner also He gave thanks over the cup, and gave to them and said: THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. ¹TAKE YE ALL THEREFORE. EAT OF THIS BREAD AND DRINK OF THIS CUP.¹ THIS BE YE DOING WHENSOEVER YE COME TOGETHER FOR MY MEMORIAL. And as we have been commanded, so we Thy weak and frail and miserable servants have come together, that by permission of Thy grace we may celebrate this great and awful and holy and divine mystery, wherein was great salvation wrought for the whole race of man; ² Lifting up praise and honour and thanksgiving and adoration, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen. (*Deacon*: Pray in your minds. Peace be with us.)

(Here the Priest says a Kushiapa.)

We adore Thee, my Lord, and confess Thee and glorify Thee that, albeit we are unworthy on account of our sins, Thou hast drawn us near to Thee by reason of Thy many mercies and hast renewed and sanctified us by the grace of the Holy Spirit and hast made us worthy to administer before Thee this awful and divine service for the salvation of our lives. We utter confession and praise before Thee with great thanksgiving, for the great salvation which has come to us all, through Thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and we offer before Thy glorious Trinity, with contrite heart and humble spirit, this living and holy and acceptable sacrifice, the mystery of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. We beseech of Thee and supplicate Thee, that

¹⁻¹ Peculiar to this Prayer.

This may be compared with Anamnesis in *A.* and *M.*, p. 71.

Thy adorable Godhead, O my Lord, may be well pleased, and that in Thy pitifulness this pure and holy oblation may be accepted in which Thou wert well pleased and reconciled regarding the sins of the world. (*Deacon* : In silence and in awe stand ye. Peace be with us.)

(*Here follow the Intercessions.*)

And may there come upon us and upon this oblation, the grace of the Holy Spirit; may He dwell and rest upon this bread and upon this cup, and may He bless and consecrate¹ and seal them, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. By the power of Thy Name² may this bread become the Holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this cup the Precious Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And whoso in true faith eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup, may they be to him, O my Lord, for the pardon of debts and remission of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for the salvation of his body and of his soul, and for life and glory for ever and ever. And make us all worthy by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that with all those who have been well-pleasing to Thy will, and who have had their conversation according to Thy commandments, we may delight in the kingdom of heaven and in the good things that are prepared and pass not away. Both here and there, may we all together, and equally, confess and adore and glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ Notice development of Invocation compared with *A.* and *M.*

² Cp. Acts of Thomas, pp. 140, 141.

(II) NESTORIUS ¹ (EAST SYRIAN)

Translation from *The Liturgy of Adai and Mari*, by permission of the S.P.C.K.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with us all, now and always and for ever and ever.

Amen.

Above in the exalted heights, in the awful place of glory, where the waving of the wings of the cherubim ceases not, nor the hallelujahs and sweet chanting Holy, Holy, Holy, of the seraphim, thither lift up your minds.

Unto Thee, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel, O glorious King.

The living and reasonable oblation of our Firstfruits and the unslain and acceptable sacrifice of the Son of our race, which the prophets figured in mystery and the apostles proclaimed openly, and the martyrs bought with the blood of their necks and the doctors expounded in the churches, and the priest sacrificed upon the holy altar and the Levites bare upon their arms, and the nations partook of for the pardon of their debts, for all created things to their utmost bound, is offered to God the Lord of all.²

It is meet and right. (*Deacon* : Peace be with us.)

(*Here the Priest says a Kushapa.*)

¹ Quite possibly the work of Nestorius (see Connolly, *Narsai*, p. lxx); although there is very little original in the earlier part. The sections parallel with Chrys. are in square brackets; with Basil in round. This Prayer is used on Epiphany; John Bapt.; the Greek Doctors (Diodore, Theo., Nest.); Wednesday of the Fast of the Ninevites; Maundy Thursday.

² Note the amazing elaboration of this versicle.

[*S. Chrys.* O Lord God of hosts, Eternal Being, Father Almighty, Who continually and at all times art, and art the same, it is meet, seemly and right, that we should confess, worship, glorify and exalt Thee at all times and at all seasons. For Thou art the true God, incomprehensible, infinite, inexplicable, invisible, uncompounded, impassible, immortal, high and exalted above the thought and understanding of all creatures, Who art everywhere present and in no place art bounded, Thou and Thy Only-Begotten Son and Thy Holy Spirit.] (*S. Basil.* Do Thou, my Lord, give us utterance in opening our mouths, that we may offer to Thee with a contrite heart and humble spirit, the spiritual fruit of our lips, even a reasonable service. For Thou art our God and the Father of our King and Saviour, Jesus Christ our Hope, in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, through Whom we have received the knowledge of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, Who from Thee, O Father, proceedeth, and is of the hidden essence of Thy Godhead, in Whom all rational natures visible and invisible are strengthened and sanctified and perfected and fulfilled. Now to Thee and to Thy Only-Begotten Son and to the Holy Spirit, we lift up continual praise always without ceasing, because all things are Thy work.) [*S. Chrys.* For Thou out of nothing didst bring us into being and didst establish us, and when we had stumbled and fallen and waxed feeble, Thou didst renew us afresh and raise us up and take us for Thine own, and didst not cease to exercise Thy care towards us; as far as to heaven hast Thou lifted us up and hast given us by Thy compassion the kingdom to come. For all Thy graces towards us, we give Thee thanks, O God the Father of truth, and to Thy Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and to Thy living and Holy Spirit. We worship Thee for all

Thy graces towards us, those we know and those we know not, those which are open and those which are hidden, and we give Thee thanks for this service and we beseech Thee to accept it at our hands.] (*S. Basil.* For who is sufficient to utter the wonders of Thy power, or to show forth all Thy praises?) For neither could all living creatures uniting in one mouth and tongue be sufficient to tell of Thy greatness, O my Lord. For before Thy Trinity, my Lord, stand a thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand angels and arch-angels, who all with one accord fly and hover and cease not, and continually with a loud voice without ceasing, sound forth praise, and sing hallelujahs, crying one to another and saying—

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD OF HOSTS; HEAVEN
AND EARTH ARE FULL OF THY PRAISES AND OF THE
NATURE OF THY BEING AND OF THE EXCELLENCY
OF THY GLORIOUS SPLENDOUR. HOSANNA IN THE
HIGHEST. HOSANNA TO THE SON OF DAVID.
BLESSED IS HE WHO CAME AND WHO COMETH¹
IN THE NAME OF THE LORD. HOSANNA IN THE
HIGHEST.

(Here the Priest says a Kushapa.)

And with those heavenly hosts we also, O gracious Lord, O God the merciful Father, even we cry out and say, Holy art Thou indeed and glorious art Thou in truth, and lofty art Thou and exalted above all, Who hast made Thy worshippers upon earth worthy to become like those that glorify Thee in heaven. Holy also is Thy Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, Who is eternally with Thee and is of Thy

¹ This seems peculiar to the Syr. Jac., Armenian, and East Syrian rites. Cp. pp. 40, 45, 51, 65, 69, 73.

80 TWENTY-FIVE CONSECRATION PRAYERS

nature, and Who is the Maker of all created things. We bless, O my Lord, God the Word, the hidden Offspring of Thy bosom, (*S. Basil*. Who, being in Thy likeness and the brightness shining from Thee and the image of Thy Being, thought it not robbery to be Thy equal, but He emptied Himself and took the likeness of a servant, perfect man, of a reasonable, intelligent and immortal soul, and of the mortal body of mankind, and joined it to Him and united it with Him in glory, in power, and in honour, even a passible nature formed by the power of the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of all, and was born of a woman, and was born under the Law, that He might redeem those that were under the Law, and might quicken all those who were dead in Adam; and He slew sin in His flesh and abolished the law of ordinances by His commandments, and opened the eyes of our understanding, which were blind, and prepared for us a way of salvation, and enlightened us with the light of the divine knowledge, for to those who received Him He gave power to become the sons of God. And He washed us and absolved us by the baptism of holy water and sanctified us in His grace by the gift of the Holy Spirit, and them who were buried with Him in baptism into death He raised and lifted up, and made them sit with Him in heaven through the assurances of His promise. And He loved His own which were in this world and unto the end He loved them. He was given in exchange for the recompense of the guilt of our race for the life of all, and gave Himself for all to death which was reigning over us, and to whose power we were subject, for through our sin we were sold to it. And by His Precious Blood He redeemed and saved us and descended into Sheol and loosed the bonds of death, and because it was not right that He should be holden in Sheol, He, the Firstfruits of our salvation, rose from

the dead on the third day and became the Firstfruits of them that slept, that He might be pre-eminent in all things. He ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of Thy Majesty, O God, and left us the commemoration of our salvation, this mystery which we offer before Thee. For when the time came when He should be betrayed for the life of the world,) after ¹He had kept the Passover with His disciples, according to the Law of Moses, He instituted His own Passover before He died, even this which we keep for His commemoration as He committed it unto us, until He be revealed from Heaven. For our Passover is Christ Who was slain for us. And ²after ¹supper of the Passover of the Law of Moses, He took bread in His holy, spotless and undefiled hands, and blessed and brake and ate, and gave to His disciples, saying: TAKE, EAT YE ALL OF IT. THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. In like manner also He mixed the cup of wine and water, and blessed and gave thanks and drank and gave to His disciples, saying: TAKE, DRINK YE ALL OF IT. THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. THIS BE YE DOING FOR MY MEMORIAL UNTIL I COME. FOR WHENSÔEVER YE EAT OF THIS BREAD AND DRINK OF THIS CUP, YE COMMEMORATE MY DEATH UNTIL MY COMING. Wherefore whosoever in true faith draws near and takes of them, let them be to him, O my Lord, for the pardon of debts and the remission of sins and for resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven. And let us lift up praise and honour and confession and

¹⁻¹ The MS. used by Renaudot omits this section. Several Syr. Jac. anaphoras also refer to the Paschal Supper (Ren., II. pp. 216, 287, 301, 311, 372, 493).

² Notes on the Institution, p. 26.

adoration to Thee, O adorable Father, and to Thy Son, Thy glorious Offspring, and to Thy living, holy and life-giving Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. (Amen.) (*Deacon* : Let us pray. Peace be with us.)

(*Here the Priest says a Kushapa.*)

We also, O Lord of hosts, God the Father, commemorating this command given for our salvation, and all those things which have been done for us, before all things do believe and confess Thee, O God the Father of truth, and the Eternal Birth from the Godhead of Thy Only-Begotten, and His perfect consubstantiality with Thee. We remember also His wonderful dispensation provided for us and through our humanity effected, the cross, the passion, the death, the burial, the resurrection on the third day, the ascension into heaven, the sitting on the right hand and the glorious second coming to us of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom Thou wilt judge the dead and the living, rendering to every man according to his deeds. Furthermore, we confess the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, Who also is of the glorious substance of Thy Godhead, Who from Thee, O Father, proceedeth, and with Thee and with Thy Only-Begotten Son co-equally is worshipped and glorified and honoured by all. We offer unto Thee this sacrifice, living and holy and acceptable and glorified and awful and exalted and spotless for all creatures and for the Holy Catholic Church. . . .

(*Here follow the Intercessions.*)

(*Deacon* : O how awful is this hour and how dreadful this moment, wherein the Priest invokes the Spirit, and He descends from on high and effects His will, and sanctifies this Heavenly Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour, unto the absolution of debts and the remission of sins of those who partake.

In quiet and in awe, in trembling and in dread, stand ye and pray, Peace be with us.)¹

And may there come, O my Lord, the grace of the Holy Spirit, and may He dwell and rest upon this oblation which we offer before Thee. May He bless and consecrate it, and make this bread and this cup to be the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and do Thou change and consecrate them by the operation of the Holy Spirit,² in such wise that the taking of these glorious and holy mysteries may be, to all such as receive them, unto eternal life and resurrection from the dead and absolution of the body and of the soul and unto the light of knowledge and to openness of face towards Thee, and unto that eternal salvation which Thou hast promised us through our Lord Jesus Christ; that we may all cleave together in one accord unto one bond of love and peace, and that we may be one body and one spirit, as we are called in one hope of our calling. Let no man eat it and drink it to the condemnation of his body and soul; let it not be to him unto weakness and sickness by reason of his sins, in that he eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily; but may we wax strong and be confirmed in all those things that are well-pleasing to Thee, being made worthy with a pure conscience to have communion in the Body and Blood of Christ, that when we stand before Thee at that awful and glorious judgment, before the throne of Thy Majesty, we may find mercies and compassion and may rejoice with all those who from the beginning have been well-pleasing unto Thee, in the grace and mercies of Thy Only-Begotten: with Whom to Thee, O my Lord, be glory and honour and dominion and exaltation, with Thy living, holy and lifegiving Spirit, now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ Also used by Syr. Jacobites.

² Cp. Chrys., pp. 57, 58.

ALEXANDRIAN GROUP

THMUIS, c. 350

(12) SERAPION ¹

Translation from *The Prayer Book of Serapion* (Wordsworth),
by the permission of the S.P.C.K.

THE Lord be with you.²
And with thy spirit.
Let us lift up our hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
It is meet and right.

It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify Thee the uncreated Father of the only begotten Jesus Christ. We praise Thee, O uncreated God, Who art unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible by any created substance. We praise Thee, Who art known of Thy Son, the Only-Begotten, Who through Him art spoken of and interpreted and made known to created nature. We praise Thee, Who knowest the Son and revealed to the saints the glories that are about Him; Who art known of Thy Begotten Word, and art brought to the sight and interpreted to the understanding of the Saints. We praise Thee, O unseen Father, Provider of immortality. Thou art the Fount of life, the Fount of light,

¹ Serapion was Bishop of Thmuis c. 350. He corresponded with Athanasius.

² The Egyptian and Western Salutation; cp. p. 32.

the Fount of all grace and all truth, O lover of men, O Lover of the poor, Who reconcilest Thyself to all, and drawest all to Thyself through the advent of Thy beloved Son. We beseech Thee make us living men. Give us a spirit of light, that we may know Thee the true (God) and Him Whom Thou didst send, (even) Jesus Christ. Give us Holy Spirit that we may be able to tell forth and to enunciate Thy unspeakable mysteries. May the Lord Jesus speak in us and Holy Spirit, and hymn Thee through us.

For Thou art far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come. Beside Thee stand thousand thousands and myriad myriads of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers. By Thee stand the two most honourable six-winged Seraphim, with two wings covering the face, and with two the feet, and with two flying, and crying holy, with whom receive also one cry of "holy" as we say—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth,
Full is the heaven and the earth of Thy glory.¹

Full ² is the heaven, full also is the earth of Thy excellent glory, Lord of hosts, fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation ³: for to Thee have we offered ⁴ this living sacrifice, the bloodless oblation. To Thee have we offered this bread, the likeness of the Body of the Only-Begotten. This bread

¹ Notice omission of *Benedictus Qui* as a characteristic of Egyptian rite.

² The Egyptian cue word; cp. p. 35.

³ Preliminary Invocation peculiar to Egypt.

⁴ Bishop Wordsworth compares this with "The Oblation is offered to God, the Lord of all" of the East Syrian rite (see p. 68).

is the likeness¹ of the Holy Body, because the Lord Jesus Christ, on the night² in which He was betrayed, took bread and broke and gave to His disciples, saying : TAKE YE AND EAT, THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BEING BROKEN FOR YOU FOR REMISSION OF SINS.

Wherefore we also, making the likeness of the death, have offered the bread, and beseech Thee, through this sacrifice, be reconciled to all of us and be merciful, O God of Truth,³ and as this bread had been scattered on the top of the mountains and gathered together came to be one, so also gather Thy Holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house and make one living catholic Church.³ We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the Blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper, said to His own disciples : TAKE YE, DRINK : THIS IS THE NEW COVENANT WHICH IS MY BLOOD, WHICH IS BEING SHED FOR YOU FOR REMISSION OF SINS. Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the Blood.

O God of Truth, let Thy Holy Word⁴ come upon this bread, that the bread may become Body of the Word, and upon the cup, that the cup may become Blood of the Truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness, and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of Truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked Thee, the uncreated, through the Only-Begotten in Holy Spirit.

¹ Cp. Basil; De Sacr.; Test. Dom.

² Notes on the Institution, p. 26.

³⁻³ Taken from the Didaché; see p. 137.

⁴ This is the unique instance of an Invocation of the Word. No other Liturgy has it, but some patristic writings seem to allude to it (see Tyrer, *Euch. Epiclesis*).

Let the people receive mercy, let it be counted worthy of advancement, let angels be sent forth as companions to the people for bringing to naught of the Evil One and for establishment of the Church.

*(Here follow Intercessions for the Dead.)*¹

Receive also the Thanksgiving (eucharist) of the people, and bless those who have offered the offerings and the thanksgivings, and grant health and soundness and cheerfulness and all advancement of soul and body to this whole people through the Only-Begotten Jesus Christ in Holy Spirit; as it was, and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages.² Amen.

ALEXANDRIA

(13) "S. MARK"³

Translated from the Greek text of Brightman, *L.E.W.*, pp. 125-34.

THE Lord be with you all.
And with thy spirit.
Let us lift up our hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
It is meet and right.

It is verily meet and right, holy and becoming, and advantageous to our souls, I AM, Master, Lord, God, Father Almighty, to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to give thanks to Thee, to confess Thee openly, both night and day, with unresting mouth, unsilenced lips,

¹ The names being recited.

² Cp. with S. Mark and other Egyptian Prayers; also Ap. Trad. Doubtless it was the People's Response here as in these other Prayers.

³ Doubtless because S. Mark is traditional Bishop of Alexandria.

and heart that may not be still : for Thou it was Who didst create the heaven and the things that are in the heaven ; the earth and all that is therein ; the sea, the fountains, the rivers, the lakes, and all things that are in them ; ¹ Thou it was Who didst make man after Thine own image and likeness, and didst also give him the delights that were in paradise, and didst not overlook him when he fell, nor desert him, O Good One, but didst call him back by the Law, didst educate him by the Prophets, didst reform him, and renew him by this terrible and lifegiving and heavenly mystery.¹ And all these things Thou hast done by Thy Wisdom, the true Light, Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by Whom, rendering thanks to Thee with Himself, and the Holy Ghost,² we offer to Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, which all nations offer to Thee, O Lord, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same ; from the north unto the south ; for Thy Name is great among all nations and in every place incense is offered to Thy Holy Name and a pure offering, sacrifice and oblation.

(Intercessions are here inserted.) ³

(Deacon : Look to the East.)

Thou art above every principality, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world but also in that which is to come. Around Thee stand thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand armies of holy angels

¹⁻¹ Cp. with S. James, p. 40. This passage in S. Cyril, p. 102, ends at "likeness."

² Preliminary Oblation ; cp. its position with that of Serapion, p. 85, where it follows preliminary Invocation.

³ Egyptian position of Intercessions ; see p. 38. Towards the end of the Intercessions occurs the Diaconal exclamation : "Ye who are sitting stand up."

and archangels. Around Thee stand Thy two most honourable living creatures, the Cherubim with many eyes, and the Seraphim with six wings, with twain whereof they cover their faces, with twain they cover their feet, and with twain they do fly: and they cry aloud, the one to the other, with unresting mouths and unsilenced praises, the triumphal and "Thrice Holy" hymn; singing, shouting, glorifying, crying aloud and saying to Thy majestic glory,¹ "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts: Heaven and earth are full of Thy holy glory."² Always do all things hallow Thee; but with all that hallow Thee, receive, O Master, Lord, our hallowing also, who with them hymn Thee and say—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts:
Heaven and earth are full of thy holy glory.³

Full,⁴ in very truth, is the heaven and the earth of Thy holy glory, through the manifestation of our Lord and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ: Fill also, O God, this sacrifice with the blessing which is from Thee, by the descent upon it of Thy All-Holy Spirit.⁵ For our Lord and our God and universal King, Jesus Christ,⁶ in the night wherein He surrendered Himself for our sins, and suffered death in the flesh for all, sitting down at supper with His holy disciples and Apostles, took bread in His holy and pure and spotless hands, looked up to heaven to Thee, His Own Father, our God and the God of all, and gave thanks, and blessed: and hallowed, and broke, and distributed to His holy and blessed disciples and Apostles, saying: TAKE, EAT:

¹ Cp. S. James, p. 40.

² So Deir Bal.

³ Benedictus Qui omitted. Cp. p. 85.

⁴ Cp. p. 35.

⁵ Preliminary Invocation (Egyptian characteristic); notice development as compared with Serapion, p. 85, and see also Deir Bal., p. 91.

⁶ Notes on the Institution, p. 26.

(*Deacon* : Attend.) THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH FOR YOU IS BROKEN AND DISTRIBUTED FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.) Likewise also the cup after supper, having taken, and mingled with wine and water, and looking up to heaven to Thee, His Own Father, our God and the God of all, He gave thanks, He blessed, He hallowed, and filled with the Holy Ghost, He distributed it to His holy and blessed disciples and Apostles, saying : DRINK YE ALL OF IT : (*Deacon* : Yet attend.) THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW COVENANT, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS SHED AND DISTRIBUTED FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.) DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL ; FOR AS OFTEN AS YE EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP, YE PROCLAIM MY DEATH AND CONFESS MY RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION TILL I COME.

O Master, Lord, Almighty, Heavenly King, we¹ proclaiming the death of Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and confessing His blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, His ascension into Heaven, and His session on the right hand of Thee, His God and Father ; looking also for His second and terrible and fearful coming, when He shall come to judge the living and the dead in righteousness, and to render to every man according to his works—(Spare us, O Lord our God)—have set before Thy sight Thine own of Thine own gifts,² and we pray and beseech Thee, O Good One and Lover of men, to send down from Thy holy height and appointed habitation and infinite bosom, the very Paraclete, the spirit of truth, the Holy, the Lord, the Lifegiving : Who spake in the Law, and by the Prophets and Apostles ;

¹ The characteristic Egyptian word here ; cp. p. 38. Compare all that follows with S. James, pp. 42-3.

² Cp. Chrys., p. 57.

Who is everywhere present and filleth all things, and works of His own free will, and not as a minister, sanctification in those whom He wills, according to Thy good pleasure. One in His nature, manifold in His energies, fountain of divine grace, consubstantial with Thee, proceeding from Thee, fellow-sharer in the throne of Thy Kingdom and of Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Look upon us, and send forth upon these loaves and on these cups Thy Holy Spirit, that He may sanctify and perfect them, as being omnipotent God, and may make this bread the Body (Amen) and this cup the Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Saviour and universal King, Jesus Christ (*Deacon*: Come down, ye Deacons): that they may be to all of us who partake of them, for faith, for soberness, for healing, for self-control, for sanctification, for renovation of soul, body and spirit, for participation in the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, for the glorifying of Thy Holy Name, and for the remission of sins; that in this as in all things Thy all-holy and precious and glorious Name may here and everywhere be praised and hymned and sanctified with Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost.

¹ As it was, and is, and shall be unto generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

The fragments found at Deir Balizeh, and first described in 1909 are very closely related to S. Mark. See Srawley, *E.H.L.*, pp. 71 ff.

The preliminary Invocation is as follows:—

“Fill also us with the glory that is with Thee, and vouchsafe to send Thy Holy Spirit upon these creatures and [make] the bread the Body of our [Lord and] Saviour Jesus Christ, and the cup the Blood of the New [Covenant . . .]

As the fragments end with the Anamnesis, it is not possible to call this the Invocation proper, as most probably another Invocation occupied the normal position.

¹ See p. 31.

ALEXANDRIA

(14) S. BASIL.¹ AN ANTIOCHENE ANAPHORA

Translated from the Greek text of Renaudot (Frankfort, 1847), vol. i. pp. 64-71.

THE Lord be with you all.
 And with thy spirit.
 Let us lift up our hearts.
 We lift them up unto the Lord.
 Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
 It is meet and right.

It is meet and right, meet and right : it is indeed meet and right, O Great I AM, Master and Lord, Thou God of Truth, Who existest from eternity and reignest throughout all ages ; Who dwellest in the highest and inhabitest eternity and hast respect unto the things that are lowly : Who madest heaven and earth and the sea and all things therein : Father of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, through Whom Thou didst make all things visible and invisible : Who sittest upon the throne of holy glory in Thy Kingdom, Who art adored by all the holy Powers. (*Deacon* : Ye who are sitting, stand up.) Around whom do stand Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Authorities, Thrones, Dominations, Powers. (*Deacon* : Look to the East.) They stand encircling Thee, the many-eyed Cherubim and Six-winged Seraphim, always hymning Thee, crying aloud and saying : (*Deacon* : Let us attend.)

¹ This is an adaptation of the Byzantine S. Basil, p. 58. It has only non-structural Egyptian features : Salutation ; Omission of Benedictus Qui ; People's Response " As it was " ; and, of course, Diaconal exclamations. The Coptic form of this Prayer is used by the Coptic Monophysites on all days except four ; see notes to Gregory and Cyril.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts.
Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.

Holy, Holy, Holy art Thou in truth, O Lord our God, Who didst fashion us, and place us in a paradise of delight; and when we had transgressed Thy command¹ through the subtlety of the serpent, and had fallen from eternal life, and were expelled from the paradise of pleasure, Thou didst not cast us away for ever, but didst continually instruct us by Thy holy prophets, and in these latter days didst manifest Thyself to us who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, through Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Who became flesh and was made man of the Holy Ghost [and our holy Lady, Mother of God²] and ever Virgin Mary. He showed to us the way of salvation, bestowing upon us the regeneration from above of water and the Spirit, and made us a peculiar people for Himself, who were in the world, and gave Himself a ransom to Death who reigned over us; in which we were held, being sold under sin: and after He had descended by the Cross into Hades, He rose again on the third day from the dead, and ascending into heaven sat down on the right hand of Thee, His Father, having appointed a day of retribution, when He will appear to judge the world in righteousness and render to every man according to his works. (*People*: According to Thy mercy, O Lord, and not according to our sins.)

But He left us this great mystery of godliness.³ For⁴ when He was about to deliver Himself up to

¹ The Coptic form inserts "concerning the Tree of Life"; so Renaudot, but Bute's translation (Cope and Fenwick) omits this.

² Not in Coptic.

³ Piety and religion (Coptic).

⁴ Notes on Institution, p. 26.

death for the life of the world (*People* : We believe), He took bread into His holy, spotless, and blessed hands : when He had looked up to the heights of heaven to Thee, His Father, our God, and the God of all : He gave thanks (Amen), He blessed it (Amen), He sanctified it (Amen), He brake it and gave to His holy disciples and Apostles, saying TAKE, EAT ¹ : THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN AND GIVEN FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. DO THIS FOR A MEMORIAL OF ME. Likewise also the cup after supper, having mixed with wine and water, He gave thanks (Amen), He blessed it (Amen), He sanctified it (Amen), He tasted, and then gave to His holy disciples and Apostles, saying : TAKE, DRINK YE ALL OF IT : THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW COVENANT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. FOR AS OFTEN AS YE EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP YE DO PROCLAIM MY DEATH, AND CONFESS MY RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION ² TILL I COME AGAIN. (Amen, Amen, Amen.) (*People* : We proclaim Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection.)

Therefore, we also, having in remembrance His holy sufferings and His resurrection from the dead, His ascension into Heaven, His session on Thy right hand, His God and Father, and His dread and glorious second coming ; offer to Thee Thine own of Thine own gifts, in relation to all, through all, and in all.³ (*People* : We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord, and pray of Thee, our God. *Deacon* : Worship God with fear.)

And we Thy sinful and unworthy servants, pray and

¹ Coptic, " Eat ye all of it."

² Coptic omits, and inserts " make memorial of me."

³ Notice addition " in all " ; cp. pp. 57, 62.

beseech Thee [O Good Lord, Thou Lover of Men ¹], and we adore Thee by the pleasure of Thy goodness; that Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us, Thy servants, and upon these gifts lying before Thee, and may sanctify and make them most holy. (Amen.) (*Deacon* : Let us attend.) ²That He may make this Bread the Holy Body of our very Lord and God our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and life everlasting to all who partake of it. (Amen.) And this cup the precious Blood of the new covenant of our Lord, our very God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and life everlasting to all who partake of It.² (Amen.) (*People* : Lord, have mercy.) And make us worthy, O Lord, to partake of these Thy holy mysteries to the sanctification of our souls, our bodies, and our spirits, that we may be one body, and one spirit, and may have our portion and lot with all Thy saints who have been well-pleasing unto Thee from the beginning of the world.

(*Here follow the Intercessions.*)

But for us who remain upon earth, keep us in Thy faith and bring us to Thy kingdom,³ give us always Thy peace, that in this, as in all things, Thy most holy, glorious and blessed Name may be hallowed, exalted, praised, blessed, and sanctified, together with Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

People : As it was, and is, and shall be to generations of generations, and to the ages of the ages. Amen.

¹ Coptic, "O Christ our God."

²⁻² Cp. Severus, p. 54.

³ The Coptic inserts "As it was" at this point. Cp. Cyril, p. 106, and The Apostles. It is, of course, a displacement; cp. Ap. Trad., S. Mark, and Serapion.

ALEXANDRIA

(15) S. GREGORY.¹ AN ANTIOCHENE ANAPHORA

Translated from the Greek text of Renaudot (Frankfort, 1847),
vol. i. pp. 92-104.

THE love of God the Father, and the grace of
His Only-Begotten Son, Lord and God and our
Saviour Jesus Christ, and the fellowship and
gift of the Holy Spirit be with you all.

And with thy spirit.

Let us lift up our hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right.

It is meet and right, meet and right. It is indeed
meet and right to praise Thee, to bless Thee, to worship
Thee, to glorify Thee, the only true God, Lover of
mankind, ineffable, invisible, infinite, without begin-
ning, eternal, without time, immeasurable, immutable,
incomprehensible, Maker of all things, Deliverer of all.
Who dost forgive all our iniquities and healest all our
infirmities, Who redeemest our life from corruption
and crownest us with mercy and loving-kindness. Angels
praise Thee, Archangels adore Thee, Principalities
hymn Thee, Dominions hail Thee, Authorities proclaim
Thy glory, and Thrones raise acclamation to Thee.
Around Thee stand thousands of thousands, and ten
thousand times ten thousand offer Thee service. The

¹ Gregory Nazianzen. A Syr. Jac. anaphora is also attributed to him. The whole of this Prayer is addressed to our Lord. Cp. Syr. Jac. Anamnesis, etc., note, p. 47; *Basil* (Coptic), p. 95; Mozarabic *Post Pridie*, p. 119, and the whole of Mozarabic Epiphany Mass, p. 120. This Prayer is used by the Copts at Christmas (midnight Mass), Epiphany, and Easter.

invisible powers celebrate Thee, the visible adore Thee, all doing Thy will, O Master. (*Deacon* : Ye who are sitting, stand up.)

O Great I AM, Lord God, Very Lord of Very God, Who hast shown to us the light of the Father, Who hast vouchsafed to us true knowledge of the Holy Spirit : Who hast displayed to us this great mystery of life, Who hast instituted for men the choirs of incorporeal beings and hast committed to us who are on earth the Seraphic Hymn : receive, together with those of the invisible choirs, even our voices. Unite us with the celestial powers. May we also speak with them, having cast aside all unseemly thoughts, and may we cry aloud those things which they proclaim with voices that are never silent, and may we with unresting mouths hymn Thy greatness. (*Deacon* : Look to the East.) For the Seraphim encircle Thee, each having six wings ; and with twain they cover their faces, and with twain they cover their feet, and with twain they do fly ; and they cry aloud, the one to the other, the triumphal hymn of our salvation, with clear and joyous voices, celebrating, singing, shouting, glorifying, crying aloud and saying : (*Deacon* : Let us attend.)

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts.

Full is the heaven and earth of Thy holy glory.

Holy, Holy art Thou, O Lord, and All-Holy.

Surpassing is the light of Thine Essence, unutterable is the power of Thy wisdom ; words may not measure the ocean of Thy loving-kindness towards men. Thou didst make me man, as Lover of men ; not that Thou didst need my service, but rather that I had need of Thy governance. Thou broughtest me forth out of nothing, in mercy and loving-kindness ; Thou didst set the

heavens to be my covering and establish the earth for me to tread. For me Thou didst rein in the sea; for me Thou didst create the nature of animals; Thou didst put all things under my feet, nor didst Thou omit any kindness toward me. (*People*: Lord, have mercy.) Thou didst fashion me and lay Thy hand upon me, and didst inscribe in me the image of Thy power, and place in me the gift of reason. Thou didst open Paradise for my delight; Thou didst commit to me the precepts of Thy knowledge; Thou didst show to me the Tree of Life ¹ [indicating to me the Cross ²]; Thou didst make known to me the sting of death.³ Thou didst forbid to me the fruit of one tree, from which alone Thou didst command that I should not eat: I ate; I set at naught the Law; I neglected Thy command through my own self-will, and I snatched for myself the sentence of death. (*People*: Lord, have mercy.) Thou, O Lord, for me didst bear the punishment, and as the Good Shepherd Thou didst run to the wanderer. As a true Father, Thou didst sympathise with me when I fell, and didst win me back to life with every remedy. Thou Thyself didst send to me the Prophets, for me when sick Thou gavest the Law to be my helper, and Thou Thyself didst minister healing to my transgressions. Thou didst arise as a Light to the wanderers: Thou Who art always present, didst sojourn with the ignorant, and didst enter the Virgin's womb. Being Infinite God, Thou didst not esteem it a prize to be equal with God, but didst empty Thyself and take upon Thee the form of a servant. Thou didst bless my nature in Thee; and for my sake didst fulfil the Law, and give me an example how I might rise from my fall.

¹ Cp. *Basil* (Alex.), p. 93.

² The Greek here corrupt, and the Coptic omits.

³ Coptic adds "Lest I should eat of it."

Thou didst give remission to those whom Hell detained and didst abolish the curse of the Law; Thou didst destroy sin in the flesh and didst make known to me the majesty of Thy power; Thou didst restore sight to the blind, Thou didst raise the dead from their graves, Thou didst restore Nature by a word; Thou didst show to me the dispensation of Thy clemency; Thou didst endure the violence of wicked men, didst give Thy back to the scourge, Thy cheeks to be smitten, and for my sake didst not turn away Thy face from shame and spitting. (*People*: Lord, have mercy.)

Thou didst come as a sheep to the slaughter, and didst display Thy solicitude for me even to the Cross; Thou didst bury my sin in Thy sepulchre, and didst elevate to the heavens my firstfruits: Thou didst signify to me the approach of Thine Advent, in which Thou shalt come again to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works.¹ (*People*: According to Thy mercy, O Lord, and not according to our sins.)

Of this my freedom I offer to Thee the symbols, and ascribe to Thy words that which is accomplished,² for Thou art He who didst commit to me this mystic participation of Thy Flesh in Bread and Wine. (*People*: We believe.)

For in the same night³ in which Thou didst deliver Thyself up of Thine own power—(*People*: We believe) taking bread in Thy holy immaculate and unspotted hands, Thou didst look up to Thine own Father, our God and the God of all. Thou didst give thanks, bless, sanctify and break, and gavest to Thy Holy disciples

¹ So in *Basil* (Alex.) at this point, *i. e.* before Institution.

² This strange passage seems to define the words of Institution as consecratory. See Renaudot's note, I. 282.

³ Notes on Institution, p. 26.

and Apostles, saying : TAKE, EAT : ¹ THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU AND FOR MANY, AND IS GIVEN FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS : DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. Likewise, after supper, Thou didst take the cup and didst mix it with the fruit of the vine and water ; Thou didst give thanks, bless, sanctify,² and gavest to Thy holy disciples and Apostles, saying : DRINK YE ALL OF IT : THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND ³ FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. FOR AS OFTEN AS YE EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP YE PROCLAIM MY DEATH AND CONFESS MY RESURRECTION ⁴ UNTIL I COME. (Amen, Amen, Amen.) (*People* : We proclaim Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection.)

Therefore, O Lord, mindful of Thy descent upon earth, and Thy lifegiving death, Thy three-days burial and Thy resurrection from the dead, Thy ascension into heaven, and session on the right hand of the Father, and Thy coming from the heavens—Thy terrible and glorious second coming—we offer to Thee Thine Own of Thine Own gifts, in relation to all, through all, and in all. (*People* : We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord, and pray of Thee, our God. *Deacon* : Worship God with fear.) Do Thou, therefore, O Lord, with Thine own voice, change these gifts lying before Thee : Thyself being present, accomplish this mystic Liturgy ; do Thou Thyself preserve for us the memorial of Thine adoration and worship. Send down Thy Holy Spirit, that, coming with His holy, good and glorious presence, He may sanctify and change these precious and holy gifts lying before Thee, into the very Body and Blood of our Redemption. (Amen.) (*Deacon* :

¹ Coptic, " Eat ye all of it."

² *Ibid.*, " Taste."

³ *Ibid.*, " Given."

⁴ *Ibid.*, " And make memorial of Me."

Let us attend.) ¹ And that He may make this bread to become the Holy Body of Thee our Lord and God and Saviour, the King of all of us, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for eternal life to those communicating from It. (Amen.) And this cup Thy Precious Blood of Thy New Testament, of our Lord and God and Saviour, and King of all of us, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for life eternal to those communicating from It.¹ (Amen.)

(Here follow the Intercessions.)

For Thou art our God, full of pity, not wishing the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be converted and live. O God, visit us in Thy salvation, deal with us according to Thy kindness, Who doest more than we ask or think, that in this, as in all things, Thy holy, honourable, and blessed Name may be glorified, extolled, praised, blessed and honoured, together with Thy immaculate Father and the Holy Ghost.

People : As it was, and is, and shall be to the generations of generations and to all ages of ages. Amen.

COPTIC MONOPHYSITES

(16) S. CYRIL.² A VERSION OF S. MARK

Translated from the text of Renaudot (Frankfort, 1847), vol. i. pp. 39-48.

THE Lord be with all.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord.
It is meet and right.

¹⁻¹ Compare *Basil* (Alex.), p. 95.

² This Prayer is now used by the Copts only on the Friday before Palm Sunday. For notes on this Prayer see S. Mark, p. 87.

It is meet and right, for Thou truly art worthy; right and holy, becoming and necessary for our souls, our bodies and our spirits, O Eternal Master, Lord God, Father Almighty, at all times and in all places of Thy dominion, to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to bless Thee, to serve Thee, to adore Thee, to give thanks to Thee, to glorify Thee, and confess to Thee day and night, with unceasing lips, unsilenced heart, and uninterrupted praise. For Thou it is Who didst create the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and all that is therein, the seas, rivers, fountains, lakes and whatsoever is within them. Thou didst create man in Thine image¹ and similitude, and Thou didst create all things in Thy Wisdom, in Thy True Light, Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord, our God, our Saviour and our King, Jesus Christ: wherefore we give thanks to Thee and we offer to Thee and also to Thy Son and the Holy Spirit, [the Holy Consubstantial and Undivided Trinity²] this reasonable sacrifice and this unbloody service, which all peoples offer to Thee from the rising of the sun even to its going down, from the north to the south, for Thy Name, O Lord, is great among all people, and in every place they offer incense to Thy Holy Name, and a pure sacrifice, together with this sacrifice and this oblation.

*(Here follow Intercessions.)*³

(Deacon: Look to the East.)

Thou art God, high above all Principalities and Powers, Dignities and Authorities, and above every name that can be named, not only in this world but in that which is to come. Thou art He in whose presence

¹ Cp. S. Mark, p. 88.

² Not in S. Mark.

³ Towards the end of these occurs Diaconal exclamation, "Ye who are sitting stand up," as in S. Mark.

stand thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand holy Angels and Archangels serving Thee. Before Thee stand Thy two most glorious living creatures, six-winged and many-eyed, the Seraphim and Cherubim; and with twain of their wings they cover their faces [because of Thine invisible and incomprehensible divinity],¹ and with twain they cover their feet and with twain they do fly. One and all they ever hallow Thee, but with all who hallow Thee, receive also from us our hallowing, that with them we may praise Thee, saying: (*Deacon*: Let us attend.)

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts,
The heaven and earth are full of Thy holy glory.

Truly the heavens and the earth are full of Thy holy glory through Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord, our God, our Saviour, and King of us all, Jesus Christ. Fill this sacrifice, O Lord, with the blessing which is from Thee, by the descent upon it of the Holy Spirit. (Amen.) [And in blessing, bless (Amen) and in purifying, purify (Amen) these Thy venerable gifts laid out before Thee, this bread and this cup (Amen).²]

For Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord, our God, our Saviour, and King of us all, Jesus Christ, in the same night in which He gave Himself up that He might suffer for our sins, before His death which He took upon Himself of His own Will, for us all: taking bread into His holy hands, immaculate, pure [blessed and lifegiving³], and looking up to heaven to Thee, His God and Father and the Lord of us all, He gave thanks (Amen) and blessed it (Amen), and sanctified it (Amen), and broke it and gave to His holy disciples and pure Apostles, saying: TAKE, EAT [YE ALL OF IT⁴]: THIS

¹ Not in S. Mark.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU AND SHALL BE GIVEN FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. (AMEN.) DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. (*People*: We believe and confess and glorify Thee.) Likewise also the cup after supper, He mixed with wine and water and gave thanks (Amen), and blessed it (Amen), and sanctified it (Amen), [and tasted¹] and gave to His renowned and holy disciples and Apostles, saying: TAKE, DRINK YE ALL OF IT: THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND SHALL BE GIVEN FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. (AMEN.) (*People*: Again we believe and confess and glorify Thee.) FOR AS OFTEN AS YE SHALL EAT OF THIS BREAD AND DRINK OF THIS CUP, YE PROCLAIM MY DEATH AND CONFESS MY RESURRECTION,² [AND MAKE MEMORIAL OF ME,³] TILL I COME. (*People*: We proclaim Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy holy Resurrection and Ascension.)

Now, O God, Father Almighty, we proclaim the death of Thy Only-Begotten Son, our Lord, our God, our Saviour and King of us all, Jesus Christ, and we confess His holy resurrection and His ascension into Heaven, His session on Thy right hand, O Father, and we look for His second coming, terrible and glorious, when He shall come from the heavens at the end of this age to judge the world in righteousness, and shall render to every man according to his works, whether good or evil. (*People*: According to Thy mercy, O Lord, and not according to our sins.) Thou art He, in the presence of Whose glory we lay out these holy gifts from those things which are Thine, O Holy Father. (*People*: We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee,

¹ Not in S. Mark.

² S. Mark adds "and Ascension."

³ Not in S. Mark.

O Lord, and pray of Thee, Our God. *Deacon* : Worship God with fear.)

[¹ We pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men, not to confound us with eternal confusion, nor reject us Thy servants, nor drive us away from Thy presence, nor say to us, "I know you not" : but grant water to our heads and a fount of tears to our eyes; that we may bewail our sins day and night before Thee; for we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture. Blot out our iniquities and forgive our offences, which we have committed voluntarily and involuntarily, knowingly and in ignorance, hidden or manifest, those which we did not know and those which we have forgotten, and which Thy Holy Name knoweth.

Hear, O Lord, the supplications of Thy people; have regard to the sighs of Thy servants, and withhold not for my sins and the wickedness of my heart, the descent of Thy Holy Spirit from Thy people. (*People* : Have mercy upon us, O God, Father Almighty.) For Thy people and Thy Church beseech Thee,² saying, Have mercy upon us, O God, the Father Almighty¹], and send down from Thy holy heights, and from Thine appointed habitation and from Thine infinite bosom, and from the throne of Thy glorious kingdom, the Paraclete, Thy Holy Spirit, subsisting in Thy Person, indivisible, changeless, Lord and Lifegiver, Who spake in the Law and by the Prophets and Apostles; Who is everywhere and fills all places [nor does any place contain Him³] : Who freely and of His own power and not as a servant, according to Thy Will, worketh purity in those whom He loveth; Who is simple in His nature and manifold

¹⁻¹ The whole of the following passage, not in S. Mark, is probably borrowed from Syr. Jac. rite. Cp. Severus, p. 53.

² See note, p. 48.

³ Not in S. Mark.

in His operations: Fount of divine gifts; consubstantial with Thee, proceeding from Thee; partner of the throne of Thy glorious Kingdom together with Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord, our God, our Saviour and the King of us all, Jesus Christ: Send Him down upon us Thy servants, and upon these Thy precious gifts which have been set before Thee, upon this bread and upon this cup, that they may be sanctified and changed; and that He may make this bread the Body of Christ (Amen) and that He may make this cup the precious Blood of the New Testament (Amen), even of our Lord, our God, our Saviour, and King of us all, Jesus Christ (Amen). That they may be to us all, who shall partake of them, of avail for obtaining faith without disputation, love without hypocrisy, perfect patience, firm hope, confidence, protection, healing, joy, and restoration of soul, body, and spirit, to the glory of Thy Holy Name; to the blessed fellowship of life eternal and incorruptible, and to the remission of sins¹: that in this as in all things, Thy great, most holy, venerable, and blessed Name may be glorified, blessed, and extolled, with Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, and the Holy Spirit.

People: As it was, and is, and shall be to the generations of generations, and to all ages of ages. Amen.

¹ Renaudot inserts "As it was," etc., here; see note, p. 95.

ETHIOPIA. MONOPHYSITE

(17) THE APOSTLES

Translation from *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, pp. 228-34.

THE Lord be with you all.

With Thy spirit.

Give ye thanks unto our God.¹

It is right, it is meet.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord our God.

² We give Thee thanks, O Lord, in Thy beloved Son the Lord Jesus, Whom in the last days Thou didst send unto us, Thy Son the Saviour and Redeemer, the Angel of the Counsel, Who is the Word from Thee and through Whom Thou madest all things by Thy will.

(Here are inserted the Intercessions.)

And for these, and for them all, rest their soul and be propitious unto them, Thou Who sentest Thy Son from heaven into the bosom of the Virgin. (*Deacon*: Ye that sit, stand up.) He was carried in the womb, was made flesh and His birth was revealed of the Holy Ghost. Unto Thee, before Whom stand thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, and the holy angels and archangels, and Thine honourable creatures that have six wings, the seraphim and cherubim (*Deacon*: Look to the East), with two of their wings they cover their face, with two of their wings they cover their feet, and with two wings they fly from end to ends of the world. (*Deacon*: Give we heed.) Continually, therefore, as they all hallow Thee and praise, with all them

¹ Notice that this versicle *precedes* "Lift up your hearts."

² This Prayer is simply Ap. Trad., p. 30, interpolated with Intercessions, Sanctus, etc.

that hallow Thee and praise Thee, receive our hallowing also which we utter unto Thee : Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth : the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the holiness of Thy glory. (*Deacon* : Answer ye.)

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth : the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the holiness of Thy glory.

Truly the heavens and earth are full of the holiness of Thy glory in our Lord and our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Thine Holy Son. He came and was born of the Virgin, that He might fulfil Thy will and make a people for Thee. He stretched out His hands to the passion, suffering to save the sufferers that trust in Thee : Who was delivered of His Own will to the passion that He might abolish death and burst the bond of Satan and trample on Hades, lead forth the saints, establish a covenant and make known His resurrection. ¹ In the same night in which they betrayed Him He took bread—(*People* : We believe that this is true : we believe)—in His hands, holy and blessed that were without spot : He looked up to heaven toward Thee His Father, He gave thanks, He blessed, and brake, and gave it to His disciples and said unto them : TAKE, EAT : THIS BREAD ² IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU FOR FORGIVENESS OF SIN. (*People* : Amen (3) : We believe and confess : we praise Thee, our Lord and our God. This is true : we believe.) And likewise also the cup, giving thanks He blessed it and hallowed it, and gave it to His disciples and said unto them : TAKE, DRINK THIS CUP : MY BLOOD IT IS, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU FOR THE REMISSION OF SIN—(*People* : Amen)—AND AS OFTEN AS YE DO

¹ Notes on the Institution, p. 26.

² So in all Eth. anaphoras except John Ev., Chrys., and Greg. Alex. This I owe to the Rev. J. M. Harden.

THIS MAKE YE MEMORIAL OF ME. (*People*: We show Thy death, Lord, and Thine holy resurrection: we believe Thine ascension: we praise Thee and confess Thee: we supplicate Thee and confess Thee, O Lord our God.)

Now also, Lord, remembering His death and His resurrection, we confess Thee and offer unto Thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks unto Thee; and thereby Thou hast made us meet to stand before Thee and do Thee priestly service. ¹ We pray Thee, Lord, and beseech Thee that Thou wouldest send the Holy Ghost and power upon this bread and over this cup. (*People*: Lord, have mercy upon us: Lord, be propitious unto us.) May He make it the Body and Blood of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever and ever. (*Deacon*: With all the heart we beseech the Lord our God that He vouchsafe unto us the good communion of the Holy Ghost. *People*: As it was, is, and shall be unto generations of generations world without end.)

Give it together unto all them that take of it, that it be unto them for sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost and for confirming true faith that they may hallow and praise Thee and Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ world without end.² Grant us to be united in Thine Holy Spirit, and heal us by this prosphora that we may live in Thee for ever, world without end. (*People*: Amen: Grant us, etc.)

¹ At about this point in anaphora of our Lady is a rubric, "Here the Deacon rejoiceth" (*lit.* "makes a hissing or chuckling noise"), Rodwell, *Eth. Lits.* (London, 1864). The Rev. J. M. Harden tells me that this is not in Orient 545 MS.

² See note, p. 95.

WESTERN GROUP

(18) GALLICAN, I.

MISSA V.¹ MISSALE RICHENOVENSE

Translated from the Latin text of Neale and Forbes (Burntisland, 1885), pp. 12-15.

THE Lord be with you.²
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
It is meet and right.

³ It is meet and right, fitting and right, that we who owe all things to Thy grace, should unceasingly venerate Thee, both by prayer in public worship at Thy holy altar, and also, reckoning all the unutterable things Thou hast done, by the silent devotion of love in the secret depths of the heart. Righteous indeed are Thy ways, O King of the peoples. Who shall not fear and magnify Thy Name. Here, indeed, have we no resounding melodies: for the saints, who by the sustained harmonies of their merits overcame the Beast of this world [may join in the song of Moses and of the Lamb ⁴];

¹ The persecution at Lyons, A.D. 177, seemed to Mone and Neale to enable us to date this Missa. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, V. 1. But it is most unlikely that variable Missæ were used anything like so early.

² There is no evidence as to the form of salutation.

³ The MS. (a palimpsest) is defective, and begins "... res gratiae debitores, jugi continuatione, veneremur."

⁴ This is Neale's insertion.

but not for us, tossed upon the world's ocean, that song of Moses, nor yet angelic voices—save that, perchance, angels be present here to extol our consecration of the Body and Blood of Thy dearly loved Son. And yet, if by pious care for the nation, by holy prayer for the welfare of the people, by hearts set upon divine worship—if by these the greatness of such an act may not be set forth before the world—yet do we strive to assemble ourselves together and benefit by the gifts vouchsafed to us; for who can negligently pass over Thy divine gifts?

Thou, even Thou, didst deign to breathe the breath of life into perishable earth and treacherous mire; and lo! out of what is earth, Thou madest to appear man. Mortal substance, Thou hast quickened to Thy form and likeness, with the force and being of a spiritual life; whereby the glowing force should quicken the inmost parts of reluctant earth and dull clay, and by the warm blood-vessels' supple action, impart to our flesh, life. But what are we? And how much have we received? For us, of clay, Thy statutes: For us, of clay, the utterance of the Prophets, the ministry of Angels have done service: For us, of clay, in His pity for man's efforts, the very Lord Jesus triumphed by the Crucifixion of His Own Body. ¹ And what shall we say of the relic-dust of Thy martyrs that racked the bodiless Powers (of devils)? Lo! whom the fire touches not this clay consumes; whom the torture of the "claw" affects not, the relic-ashes rack, and the lamentations are heard of

¹ "Quid loquar ad tuorum cineres martyrum torqueri incorporeas potestates." Neale has a long note on this passage (*Ancient Gallican Lits.*, p. 13) in which he finds fault with Mone's desire to read "corporeas" for "incorporeas," and to translate "corporeas potestates" as "magistrates." The following passages would certainly not gain in intelligibility by this interpretation. That the ashes of martyrs cast out and tortured devils was a widespread idea: see *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, Smith and Cheetham, p. 1777.

those who suffer no apparent torture. Yet what high rewards of light affliction to be refused for unhappy pleasures ! O wretched body, what has it not forfeited, summoning itself back from heaven to return to its mire ! No marvel, indeed, if earth do outweigh heaven. But, O Lord God, Father Almighty, since Thou hast raised us up in the Body of Thine Only-Begotten, and bidden us find heaven again, suffer not, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy to fail us. Let it suffice that the soul enclosed in the body did once pass in misery under an alien yoke, and for the sin of one the whole race together suffered the penalty. Verily we did let slip our natural birth-right. Let us not cast away the grace of Thy Redemption. Guard then for Thyself, O Lord, Thine own purchase, which Thou hast bought with the Body of Thy well-beloved Son. Not to our own flesh and blood are we in anything beholden, but to obey the command of Our Lord's Redemption, to the end that, as the Scripture saith, " His may we be, Who has risen from the dead."

Rightly then to Thee do all Angels and Archangels unceasingly render praise and say—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.

Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory.

Hosanna in the Highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the Highest.

Here, I say, Christ, our Lord and our God, Who of His own will was made like to mortals throughout this span of life, showed to Thee an immaculate body, and, fitting expiator of the ancient fault, displayed a soul pure and inviolate by sin ; that His blood might wash the soul defiled, and, the law of death having been finally abrogated, He might raise the fallen body to heaven,

even to the right hand of the Father; through our Lord Jesus Christ,¹ Who, on the day before He suffered for our salvation, and that of all men, took bread, and lifted up His eyes to heaven, to Thee, God, His Almighty Father, and giving thanks to Thee, He blessed and broke, and gave to His disciples, saying to them: TAKE, AND EAT YE ALL OF THIS: FOR THIS IS MY BODY. In like manner after they had supped, taking the cup, He raised His eyes to Thee, God, His Almighty Father, also giving thanks to Thee, and blessed, and gave to His disciples, saying to them: TAKE, AND DRINK YE ALL OF IT: FOR THIS IS THE CUP OF MY BLOOD, OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT, A MYSTERY OF FAITH, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY SHALL BE SHED FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. Commanding also and saying to them: AS OFTEN AS YE SHALL DO THESE THINGS, YE SHALL DO THEM FOR A MEMORIAL OF ME, YE SHALL PROCLAIM MY DEATH AND ANNOUNCE MY RESURRECTION, YE SHALL HOPE FOR MY ADVENT TILL I SHALL COME AGAIN TO YOU FROM THE HEAVENS.¹

He adds also the especial declaration that, as often as His Body should be taken and His Blood, a memorial of the Lord's Passion would be made. ² And as we make this,² we ever show forth the glory of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God. We pray that, with Thy blessing Thou wilt bless this Sacrifice, and besprinkle It with the dew of Thy Holy Spirit; that to all who partake It may be a eucharist, pure, real, valid. Through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord and God, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee together with the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

¹⁻¹ As the Institution is not given in the Gallican books, the Ambrosian formula has been inserted here from Ceriani, *Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1912), pp. 9 and 10. Cp. p. 26.

²⁻² Is this an implied Oblation? See p. 23.

(19) GALLICAN, II. MISSA. MISSALE RICHENOVENSE

Translated from the Latin text of Neale and Forbes (Burnt-island, 1855), pp. 3, 4.

THE Lord be with you.¹
 And with thy spirit.
 Lift up your hearts.
 We lift them up unto the Lord.
 Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
 It is meet and right.

It is meet and right that we should give thanks unto Thee, O Lord God, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, Who, although He was Eternal God, yet deigned to become man for our salvation: O wholly singular and manifold mystery of our Saviour! For one and the same, both Highest God and perfect man, the great High Priest and most hallowed Sacrifice, in His divine power created all things, in His human condition gave freedom to men; in the power of His Sacrifice He cleansed our pollutions, in the right of His Priesthood He made amends for our offences.

O wholly singular mystery of redemption! in which the Lord healed those ancient wounds by a new remedy; and the privileges of our Salvation annulled the sentence against the first man. The one, impelled by the goad of desire, the other transfixed by the nails of obedience; the one without restraint stretched out his hand to the tree, the other in patience fitted His hands to the cross; the one satiated his appetites allured by pleasure, the other was afflicted by the torture of unmerited pain. Rightly, therefore, did the punishment of the innocent become the acquittal of the debtor, for debts are law-

¹ See Note 2, p. 110, preceding Mass.

fully forgiven to the guilty which He, Who had no debt, has paid for them. Which matchless mystery, not only men upon earth, but even the Angels in heaven, do venerate. To Whom, rightly, do all Angels and Archangels unceasingly render praise, and say—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.

Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.

Hosanna in the Highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the Highest.

Truly Holy, truly Blessed, is our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son,¹ [Who came from heaven, that He might live in fellowship with men; was made man that He might dwell in us, and became a Victim that He might make us Priests].

(For the "*Qui Pridie*" formula see the preceding Mass, p. 113.)

We beseech the glory of our Lord and our Eternal God, praying that Thou wouldest bless this Sacrifice² with Thy benediction, and besprinkle it with the dew of Thy Holy Spirit, that to all who receive, it may be a valid (*legitima*) Eucharist; through Jesus Christ Thy Son, Lord and God, and our Preserver: to Whom, with Thee, O Lord, and the Holy Spirit, is the everlasting kingdom and the unending Godhead, world without end. Amen.

¹ The Post Sanctus of this Mass ends at the words, "Thy Son." The following sentences in brackets have been inserted from *Missale Gothicum*, Neale and Forbes, p. 142. Cp. *ibid.*, p. 150, and see also Mozarabic Post Sanctus given on p. 118 of this book.

² There is no Oblation, although again it is implied; see p. 23.

(20) MOZARABIC, I.

MASS FOR THE NATIVITY

Translated from the *Liber Sacramentorum* (edited by Ferotin), pp. 56, 57.

YOUR ears unto the Lord.

We give them unto our Lord.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto our Lord.

Let us give worthy praise and thanks to
our God and Lord, Father, Son and Holy
Spirit.

It is fitting and right, meet and right.¹

It is meet and right for us to render to Thine omnipotence and goodness, the praises which Thou hast given us the power to render, O Merciful Father, because after long ages, as on this day not long ago,² Christ Jesus, Who was one with Thee or with Himself, was born to us. Thine Only-Begotten was made son of His handmaid; the Lord was born of His Mother: the Shoot of Mary is the Fruit of the Church, and He Who comes forth from Mary is received within the Church; He Who is brought forth as a weakling babe by the One, is magnified by the other as a worker of wonders.

Mary begat salvation for the nations, the Church begat the nations; the one carried life in her womb; the other in the font. In the body of the one was Christ conceived, in the waters of the other is Christ

¹ *Liber Ordinum*, p. 236.

² A vague expression, and hardly a *proof* of the antiquity of this Illatio, as Neale, *Essays in Liturgiology* (1867), p. 156, thought.

put on. Through the one He, Who ever was, is born; through the other, he who had perished is found. In the one the Redeemer of the Nations receives life; in the other the nations themselves are made alive. Through the one He came that He might take away sins; through the other He took away those sins on account of which He came. Through the one He wept for us; through the other He cared for us. In the one He is an infant; in the other is He a giant. There He weeps; here He triumphs. Through the one He played with toys; through the other He subdued kingdoms. The one He soothed with a child's merriment; the other He bound with the faith of a husband.

Then at last appear the pure interchanges of precious love. The husband gives to His spouse His gifts of living water, that is, Christ to the Church; with which she might be washed to find favour in His sight. For the oil of gladness He gave to her the sweet-smelling oil of chrism by which she might be anointed. He called her to His table, and satisfied her with the fat of corn, and filled her with the wine of sweetness. He placed upon her the ornament of justice, and gave her a vesture glittering with many virtues. He gave His life for her, and when about to reign as Victor, He gave to her as dowry the spoils of Death captured and trampled underfoot. To her He gave Himself for food and drink and raiment. He promised that He would give to her an eternal kingdom, and that she should stand as Queen upon His right hand. To her He granted what had been bestowed upon the Mother; to be filled, but not violated, to bring forth, but not defiled. To the Mother was this a single gift; to the Church for all time. So might she repose as His bride on the couch of loveliness, and multiply sons from the bosom of pure love, and might be fecund

with offspring yet not foetid with lust. So she herself made rich in Him and through Him brings lowly gifts to her Husband and Lord : This, of her own, offering her faith : This, from His example, offering a responsive love : This, of His own gift, that she could accomplish even what He willed, and willed even what she accomplished. She gave to Him martyrs for roses, virgins instead of lilies, the chaste as violets. All these gifts she transmitted to Him through the Apostles, the ministers of His will, as the finished tasks of her work. Wherefore now she stands upon His right hand in eternal happiness and glory, and praises Him Who reigns with Thee, O Omnipotent Father, and the Holy Spirit, with all Angels confessing Him and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.

Heaven and Earth are full of the glory of Thy Majesty.

Hosanna to the Son of David.

Blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the Highest.

Priest : Hosanna in the highest.¹

Truly Holy, Truly blessed is our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son : Who came from Heaven that He might have His conversation upon earth, and was made flesh that He might dwell amongst us. He Himself our Lord and Eternal Redeemer.² For the Lord Jesus,³ in the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread and gave thanks and broke and said : TAKE, AND EAT : THIS IS

¹ *Liber Ordinum*, p. 237.

² The "Adesto, Adesto" of Ximenes' Missal is not found at all in these MSS., either of the L.O. or L.S.

³ So Toledo MS., 35. 6, for Mass of the Ascension. Cp. L.S. xxv. and 327. For the Institution see p. 26.

MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. Likewise also He took the cup, when He had supped, and gave thanks and gave to them, saying : THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT IN MY BLOOD, WHICH FOR YOU AND FOR MANY IS SHED FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. AND WHEN YE SHALL DRINK IT, THIS SHALL YE DO FOR MY MEMORIAL. (AMEN.) AND AS OFTEN AS YE SHALL EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK THIS CUP, YE SHALL PROCLAIM THE LORD'S DEATH UNTIL HE COME INTO CLEAR SIGHT FROM THE HEAVENS.¹ (*Response* : So we believe, Lord Jesus.)

Observing,² O Lord, these Thy gifts and commands, we place upon Thine Altar these offerings of bread and wine, beseeching Thee in the abundance of Thy goodness and compassion, that by the power of that same Spirit by which uncorrupt virginity conceived Thee in the flesh, the Undivided Trinity may sanctify these oblations, so that, when they shall be received by us with no less fear than veneration, whatever there be of life harmful to the soul may wither, and that what has withered may in no wise live again. Amen. ³Who with God the Father and the Holy Spirit livest and reignest one God world without end.³ Amen.

¹ Veniat. In claritatem e celis.

² The *Post Pridie* is addressed to the Son as not infrequently.

³⁻³ Doxology from Mass of S. Andrew, *L.S.*, p. 36. Cp. *L.O.*, p. 540.

(21) MOZARABIC, II.

MASS FOR EPIPHANY

Translated from *Liber Sacramentorum* (edited by Ferotin), p. 88.

YOUR ears unto the Lord.

We give them unto our Lord.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto our Lord.

Let us give worthy praise and thanks unto
our God and Lord, Father, Son and Holy
Spirit.

It is fitting and right, meet and right.¹

Meet and right is it, O Lord Jesus Christ,² to praise Thine omnipotence throughout the whole span of our lives, whether in our times of leisure, or in brief and hurried moments : and especially on this present festival, when are celebrated so many and various surpassing examples of Thy miracles, to be venerated by all hearts. And although those few out of many which we presume to relate are more precious in their inner meaning than as mere events—and so it is, that the tongue cannot express what the mind is unable to imagine—yet at least it is well to recall those things which were a clear and public source of wonder.

To-day, then, appeared that witness to Thy Incarnation, that Star, glowing ruddily, casting widely its beams, soft to the eye, an answer to expectation, wonderful in its novelty, terrible in its signification. At the greatness of its splendour, the stiff-necked inquisitive-

¹ *L.O.*, p. 236.

² The whole of this Mass is addressed to the Son. Cp. *Post Pridie* preceding Mass.

ness of the Chaldæans was struck with sudden terror, and those wise Magi saw revealed in every rite of the Babylonians, their ancient superstition being crushed underfoot, how great was the darkness in which they lay; and had they not discerned the nature of that visible light, they would still have been ignorant of the Author of light. Nor, any longer, with the pride of the Assyrian race, did they, who by the guidance of Heaven had found adorable divinity amongst men, seek men amongst celestial beings as their objects of worship.

To this example another is added: that Thou didst enter the waters of Jordan to be sanctified—but as an example of humility and not compelled by sin—and the voice of the Father was heard testifying to the Son, and the Spirit of sevenfold grace brooded over the New Adam; thus revealing that element in which the Baptist himself may be baptised.

Nor would I further mention the fame of this same Jordan in more ancient days; whose deeps were broken up by the billowing waves, which had gone forward being lost in the sea—and on this side the waters which remained mounting up to a point in the air, He¹ led the tribes safely through the sandy shallows, in the very midst of that (portentous) scene of the flowing waters (being thus divided). Yet once more Thou didst pour water into the waterpots, wine into the water,² and at the sway of Thy command the waters are dyed with the juice of grapes, and a vintage comes forth from the waterpots. Nor by a lesser miracle was it that Thy bounty did in former days call forth the flowing river from the bowels of the dry rock; but not greater is it to have imparted

¹ Or "he"? Is it God or Moses?

² The *Benedictio Populi* (second clause) of Epiphany Mass in *Missale Gothicum* (Neale and Forbes, p. 56) seems to echo this sentence and the one before "Thine omnipotence" (p. 122).

moisture to the dryness than flavour to the (tasteless) water.

Also didst Thou feed, with five loaves and a pair of fishes, five thousand men in the desert, having effected this by the power of Thy benediction; so that so great a multitude, who might scarcely have been satisfied with a great provision of food, were able to be satiated with a small. So into the mouths of all the food passed, but thereby growing no less, nay rather receiving increase to itself from its own expenditure; and the food having been increased by the increasing fragments, a large number of pieces were carried away in the baskets which had not been offered to the guests: Thine omnipotence working this for the magnifying of Thy glory. To whom rightly do all Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, unceasingly cry aloud and say—

Agyos, Agyos, Agyos, Kyrie O Theos.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.

Heaven and Earth are full of the glory of Thy majesty. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the Highest.

Agyos, Agyos, Agyos, Kyrie O Theos.¹

Truly holy, truly blessed art Thou, O God, Who hast honoured the observation of this day, and its reverence, venerable throughout the whole world, with the threefold name of Acceptation,² Illumination,³ and Manifestation. Appear in these solemnities and accept the prayer of Thy people, Thou Who hast consecrated this festival with

¹ *L.S.*, p. 326-7. Cp. p. xli: "Le texte était tantôt en Grec et en Latin, tantôt en Latin seulement."

² A Spanish name for the Epiphany: the Acceptation of the Gentiles.

³ The Illumination of Baptism; the Epiphany being in early days one of the great seasons for Baptism.

the very name of Acceptation. Illuminate Thy people sacrificing to Thy worship, Thou Who hast illuminated this feast with that very word. Manifest to our hearts the light of Thy truth, Thou Who hast given that name of Manifestation to these Solemnities. O Christ, our Lord and Eternal Redeemer.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in that night in which He was betrayed, took bread and blessed, and gave thanks and broke, and gave to His disciples, saying: TAKE, AND EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU. DO THIS FOR MY MEMORIAL. And likewise the cup after He had supped, saying: THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT, WHICH FOR MANY IS SHED FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS, AND THIS DO, AS OFT AS YE SHALL DRINK IT, FOR MY MEMORIAL. FOR AS OFTEN AS YE SHALL EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK OF THIS CUP, YE SHALL PROCLAIM THE LORD'S DEATH TILL HE SHALL COME IN SPLENDOUR FROM THE HEAVENS.¹ (*Response*: So we believe, Lord Jesus.)

Appear, O Lord, make Thyself known, O Lord, as Thou didst appear, manifest in the flesh, born of a Virgin, found by the shepherds, recognised in power, proclaimed by the Star, adored with gifts, declared in the river, believed on in faith, received up in the cloud, promised again by him that announced (*indice*: see Acts ii. 10, 15): that by the grace of this holy Festival Thy Church may now receive Thy joys, as once it made known Thy mysteries. Amen. Through Thy favour,² O Great

¹ There are two forms of this part of the Canon extant. The one given is from the *Liber Ordinum*, p. 238.

² "Je n'ai compté pas moins de 134 différentes doxologies mozarabes" (Ferotin, *L.S.*, p. 9). The above is one frequently given. The "per quem" clause occurs only in four Masses of the basic MS. (Toledo, 35. 3, cent. ix.). See *L.S.*, pp. 511, 518, 524, 531. The Toledo MS., 35. 6, cent. xi., inserts it in nineteen of the Masses. In the *L.O.* (MS. Silos, 1052) it does not occur; in the MS. of Madrid, 1050, it occurs once in marginal note. See *L.O.*, p. 322.

God, Who art glorified, One God in Three Persons for ever and ever. Amen.

(22) ROME

THE Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.
It is meet and right.

It is truly meet and right, fitting and salutary, that we should always and in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God : Who with Thy Only-Begotten Son and the Holy Ghost art One God, and One Lord : not in a singularity of One Person, but in a Trinity of One Substance, For that which we believe, by Thy revelation, of Thy glory, the same we believe of Thy Son, and the same of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or distinction ; That, in the confession of a true and eternal Deity, distinctness in the Persons, unity in the essence, and equality in the Majesty may be adored.¹ Thus do the Angels and Archangels, the Cherubim also and the Seraphim praise, who cease not daily to cry out, with one voice, saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.
Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory.
Hosanna in the Highest.
Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the Highest.

¹ This is the Trinity Preface used on all Sundays.

We therefore ¹ humbly pray and beseech Thee, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices, which, in the first place, we offer Thee for . . . (*Here are inserted Intercessions.*) We, therefore, beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously to accept this Oblation of our service, as also of Thy whole family ; [dispose our days in Thy peace, command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of Thy elect.²] Through Christ our Lord. Amen. Which Oblation do Thou, O God, vouchsafe to make in every way blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become to us the Body and Blood of Thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Who,³ the day before He suffered, took bread into His Holy and Venerable Hands, and with His eyes lifted up towards Heaven, to Thee, His God and Almighty Father, giving thanks to Thee, He Blessed, Broke and gave to His disciples, saying : TAKE, AND EAT YE ALL OF THIS : FOR THIS IS MY BODY. Likewise, after supper, taking also this renowned chalice into His Holy and Venerable Hands, and giving Thee thanks, He blessed and gave it to His disciples, saying : TAKE, AND DRINK YE ALL OF IT : FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT : THE MYSTERY OF FAITH : WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE

¹ It has never been satisfactorily decided yet to what the "*igitur*" here exactly refers: various more recent theories are well stated and discussed by Dr. Fortescue, *The Mass*, pp. 138 ff.

² These words were added to the Canon by Gregory I (590-604), according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (Duchesne, Paris, 1886), I. p. 312, and Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, II. 1.

³ For notes on the Institution see p. 26. Notice "renowned" before "Chalice." This is unique. Notice also "the Mystery of Faith," and compare Ap. Con., p. 37.

REMISSION OF SINS. AS OFTEN AS YE DO THESE THINGS YE SHALL DO THEM FOR MY MEMORIAL.

Wherefore,¹ O Lord, we Thy servants but also Thy holy people, mindful of the blessed Passion of the same Christ Thy Son our Lord, His Resurrection from the dead, and also His glorious Ascension into Heaven, offer unto Thy Most Excellent Majesty, of Thy gifts and favours, a pure Sacrifice, a Holy Sacrifice, an immaculate Sacrifice, the Holy Bread of eternal life, and the chalice of everlasting salvation. Upon which vouchsafe to look with a favourable and gracious countenance, and to accept them, as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the Sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham and [the holy sacrifice and spotless host ²] which Thy high priest Melchizedek offered unto Thee.

We most humbly beseech Thee, ³ Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel ⁴ to Thy Altar on high,³ in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, that as many of us who by participation at this Altar shall receive the Most Sacred Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with all Heavenly Benediction and Grace. Through the same Christ our Lord. (*Intercessions are here inserted.*) Through Christ our Lord.

By Whom,⁵ O Lord, Thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us all these good things. Through Whom and with Whom and in Whom is to Thee O God, the Father Almighty, in the Unity of the

¹ Cp. *Liber Ordinum* (Ferotin), p. 269. *Post Pridie*.

² These words were added by Leo I (440-461): *Liber Pontif.* (Duchesne), I. p. 239.

³⁻³ Notice that in *De Sacr.* this is simply part of the Oblation, but that here it is said to form an equivalent to the Invocation. Compare *Syr. Jac. Prayers*, pp. 47, 53.

⁴ Angels in *De Sacr.* and also in First P.B. of Edw. VI (1549).

⁵ See p. 24.

Holy Ghost, all honour and glory. World without end.
Amen.

De Sacramentis (c. 400). IV, 21, 22, 26, 27.

¹ Make for us this oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, because it is the figure ² of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,¹ Who ³the day before He suffered took bread in His holy hands, and looked up to heaven to Thee, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God; and giving thanks, He blessed, broke, and delivered it when broken to His Apostles and to His disciples, saying: TAKE, AND EAT YE ALL OF THIS: FOR THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH SHALL BE BROKEN FOR MANY. Likewise also He took the cup after supper, the day before He suffered, and looked up to heaven to Thee, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, and giving thanks, He blessed, and delivered it to His Apostles and to His disciples, saying: TAKE, AND DRINK YE ALL OF THIS: FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD. AS OFTEN AS YE DO THIS, SO OFTEN SHALL YE MAKE MEMORIAL OF ME UNTIL I COME AGAIN.

Mindful, therefore, of His most glorious passion and resurrection from the dead and His ascension into heaven, we offer to Thee this pure sacrifice, this reasonable sacrifice, this unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and cup of eternal life; and we ask and pray that Thou wouldest receive this oblation on Thy Altar on high by the hands of Thy angels, as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest Melchizedek offered unto Thee.

¹⁻¹ Cp. *Post Pridie, Liber Sacr.*, Ferotin, p. 641.

² See S. Basil, p. 63, Note 1.

³ See notes on the Institution, p. 26.

ENGLAND

(23) FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDW. VI (1549)

THE Lord be with you.
 And with thy spirit.
 Lift up your hearts.
 We lift them up unto the Lord.
 Let us give thanks to our Lord God.
 It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.¹ Therefore, with Angels and Archangels, and with all the holy company of heaven: we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name, evermore praising Thee, and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.
 Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.
 Hosanna in the Highest.
 Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.
 Glory to Thee, O Lord, in the Highest.

(Here are inserted the Intercessions.²)

O God, heavenly Father, Which of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross, for our redemption, Who made there, by His one oblation once offered, a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the

¹ Proper Preface is inserted here.

² This is the Roman position. In the Roman Mass, however, the arrangement, difficult though it is to understand, is hallowed by, perhaps, 1500 years' use.

sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in His holy gospel command us, to celebrate a perpetual memory of that His precious death, until His coming again : ¹hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word ²vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, ¹Who in the same night ³that He was betrayed, took bread ; and when He had blessed and given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying : TAKE, EAT : THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU : DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME. Likewise after supper He took the cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying : DRINK YE ALL OF THIS : FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS : DO THIS, AS OFT AS YE DRINK IT, IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.

Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make ; having in remembrance ⁴His blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable

¹⁻¹ The Roman "quam oblationem" is sometimes instanced as justification for this position of the Invocation, but the only real parallel is the solitary instance of the Deir Balizeh fragment, p. 91, which probably had another Invocation in the Catholic position, and of the use and extent of which we know nothing.

² For "Thy Holy Spirit and Word" compare *Post Secreta*, *Natale S. Germani*, in *Missale Gallicanum*.

³ Probably from Mozarabic. Compare p. 26.

⁴ This inversion of the Oblation and Anamnesis (which is properly the link between Our Lord's Command and the Oblation) is perverse, and unfortunately has been perpetuated in all Anglican liturgies (except Non-Jurors).

benefits procured unto us by the same ; entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we, and all Thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion. ¹ And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto Thee ; ¹ humbly beseeching Thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with Thy Son Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of Thy holy angels,² to be brought up into Thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord ; by Whom, and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

¹⁻¹ Notice how the Oblation of Self is absent from all ancient Liturgies at this point. Its proper place, surely, is *after* Communion.

² Cp. Rome, p. 126, and De Sacr., p. 127.

(24) THE NON-JURORS, 1718

THE Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.
It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.¹ Therefore, with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name, evermore praising Thee, and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.
Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.
Hosanna in the Highest.
Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.
Glory be to Thee, O Lord most high. Amen.

² [Holiness is Thy nature and Thy gift, O Eternal King; holy is Thine Only-Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom Thou hast made the worlds; holy is Thine ever-blessed Spirit, Who searcheth all things, even the depths of Thine infinite perfection. Holy art Thou, Almighty and Merciful God; Thou createdst man in Thine own image and broughtest him into paradise, and didst place him in a state of dignity and pleasure; and when he had lost his happiness by transgressing

¹ Proper Preface inserted here.

² Freely paraphrased from S. James, pp. 40, 41.

Thy command, Thou of Thy goodness didst not abandon and despise him. Thy providence was still continued, Thy law was given to revive the sense of his duty, Thy prophets were commissioned to reclaim and instruct him. And when the fullness of time was come, Thou didst send Thine Only-Begotten Son to satisfy Thy justice, to strengthen our nature, and renew Thine image within us; for these glorious ends Thine Eternal Word came down from heaven, was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, born of the Blessed Virgin, conversed with mankind, and directed His life and miracles to our salvation; and when His hour was come to offer the propitiatory sacrifice upon the Cross; when He, Who had no sin Himself, mercifully undertook to suffer death for our sins,]¹ in ² the same night that He was betrayed He took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying: TAKE, EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU: DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME. (Amen.) Likewise, after supper He took the cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying: DRINK YE ALL OF THIS: FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS: DO THIS AS OFT AS YE SHALL DRINK IT IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME. Amen.²

³ Wherefore, having in remembrance His passion, death and resurrection from the dead; His ascension into heaven, and second coming with glory and great power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His holy institution, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through

¹ See note 2, preceding page.

²⁻² From 1549, omitting "had blessed."

³ The whole passage to doxology from Ap. Con., p. 38.

Him, that Thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before Thee, and to sacrifice unto Thee. And we beseech Thee to look favourably on these Thy gifts, which are set here before Thee, O Thou self-sufficient God: and do Thou accept them to the honour of Thy Christ; and send down Thine Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that He may make this Bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ; that they who are partakers thereof, may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his snares, may be replenished with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life, Thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled unto them,¹ through the merits and mediation of Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ; Who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. Amen.

(25) THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (1637)

THE Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.²

¹ See note to Ap. Con.; p. 36.

² Proper Preface inserted here.

Therefore, with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name, evermore praising Thee, and saying—

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.

Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.

Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High. Amen.

All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thy only Son Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; Who (by His own oblation of Himself once offered) made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world, and did institute and in His Holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memorial of that His precious death and sacrifice, until His coming again. For, in the night that He was betrayed, He took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying: TAKE, EAT: THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU: DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME. Likewise, after supper, He took the cup; and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying: DRINK YE ALL OF THIS: FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS: DO THIS AS OFT AS YE SHALL DRINK IT IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.

Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance His blessed Passion and precious Death, His mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension; rendering

unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.

¹ And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son.¹ And we earnestly desire Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His Passion.

² And here we humbly offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee; beseeching Thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one Body with Him, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him.²

And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not

¹ The Invocation as altered in 1911 :—

. . . the same, and looking for His coming again with power and great glory. And, humbly praying that it may be unto us according to His word, we Thine unworthy servants beseech Thee, most merciful Father, to hear us, and to send Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by His life-giving power, they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life.

²⁻² See note 1, p. 130.

weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord: by Whom and with Whom, in the Unity of this Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

APPENDICES

(1) THE DIDACHÉ

(Sections 9 and 10)

Translation from *The Apostolic Fathers*, Lightfoot and Harmer (Macmillan, 1898), by permission of Dr. Harmer, Bishop of Rochester.

9. But as touching the eucharistic thanksgiving give ye thanks thus. First, as regards the cup :

We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of Thy son David, which Thou madest known to us through Thy Son Jesus ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever.

Then as regards the broken bread :

We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou didst make known to us through Thy Son Jesus ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. ¹ As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom ; ¹ for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever.

But let no one eat or drink of this eucharistic thanksgiving, but they that have been baptised into the Name

¹⁻¹ Found also in Serapion, p. 86.

of the Lord ; for concerning this also the Lord hath said :
Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

10. And after ye are satisfied thus give ye thanks :

We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, Which Thou hast made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son Jesus ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks to Thee ; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son. Before all things we give Thee thanks that Thou art powerful ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Remember, Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love ; and gather it together from the four winds—even the Church which has been sanctified—into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it ; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever.

May grace come and may this world pass away.
Hosanna to the God of David.

If any man is holy let him come ; if any man is not,
let him repent. *Maran Atha.* Amen.

But permit the prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire.

See note on the Didaché, p. xiii.

(2) THE GNOSTIC PRAYERS

THE ACTS OF JOHN ¹

Translated from Greek text of Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1898), II. pp. 193, 207.

c. 85

WE glorify Thy Name which converts us from the guileful and pitiless deceit. We glorify Thee, for Thou hast displayed before our eyes those things which we behold. Witnesses are we to the various manifestations of Thy goodness. We praise Thy noble Name, O Lord, for that Thou dost put to confusion them that by Thee are being confounded. We give thanks to Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, for that we put our trust in Thine unchangeable being. We give thanks to Thee for that Thou didst choose to take upon Thee our nature, when that nature was being redeemed (by Thee). We give thanks to Thee for that Thou hast given to us this inflexible nature of Thine, because Thou alone art now and for ever. We Thy servants, O Holy One, with true cause offer Thee thanksgiving, as we meet together and recount Thy goodness.

c. 109

What praise, or what sort of offering, or what thanksgiving shall we, breaking the bread, invoke, but Thee only, Lord Jesus. We glorify the Name by which Thou hast been called by the Father; we glorify the Name by which Thou hast been called as Son; we glorify Thy passing through the gate. We glorify Thy resurrection, which has been manifested to us through Thee; we glorify Thee, the way. We glorify Thee, the seed, the

¹ Perhaps to be dated c. A.D. 160.

word, the grace, the faith, the salt, the ineffable pearl, the treasure, the plough, the net, the majesty, the diadem, Him called Son of Man for our sakes, the welcome truth, the rest, the knowledge, the power, the commandment, the freedom of speech, the hope, the love, the liberty, the place of refuge in Thee. For Thou only, O Lord, art the root of immortality and the fountain of incorruption and the throne of the ages, having been called all these things for our sakes, that now we, calling upon Thee through these, may recognise Thine invisible majesty, presented to us by Thy presence, that can be seen only by the pure, made visible only in Thy Manhood.

ACTS OF THOMAS

Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1871), Vol. II. p. 189.

JESUS, Who hast deemed us worthy to draw nigh unto Thy Holy Body, and to partake of Thy lifegiving Blood; and because of our reliance upon Thee we are bold and draw nigh, and invoke Thy Holy Name, which has been proclaimed by the Prophets, as Thy Godhead willed; and Thou art preached by Thy Apostles through the whole world according to Thy grace, and art revealed by Thy mercy to the just; we beg of Thee that Thou wouldest come and communicate with us for help and for life, and for the conversion of Thy servants unto Thee, that they may go under Thy pleasant yoke and under Thy victorious power, and that it may be unto them for the health of their souls and for the life of their bodies in Thy living world.

Come, gift of the Exalted; come, perfect mercy; come, Holy Spirit; come, revealer of the mysteries of the Chosen among the Prophets; come, proclaimer

by His Apostles of the combats of our victorious Athlete; come, treasure of majesty; come, beloved of the mercy of the Most High; come (thou) silent (one), revealer of the mysteries of the Exalted; come, utterer of hidden things and shewer of the works of our God; come, giver of life in secret and manifest in Thy deeds; come, giver of joy and rest to all who cleave unto Thee; come, power of the Father, and wisdom of the Son, for Ye are one in all; come and communicate with us in this Eucharist which we celebrate, and in this offering which we offer, and in this commemoration which we make.

(And he made the sign of the Cross upon the bread, and began to give (it).)

Wright. Vol. II., p. 268.

Living bread, the eaters of which die not! Bread, that fillest hungry souls with Thy blessing! Thou that art worthy to receive the gift and to be for the remission of sins, that those who eat thee may not die! We name the name of the Father over thee; we name the name of the Son over thee; we name the name of the Spirit over thee, the exalted name that is hidden from all. In Thy name, Jesus, may the power of the blessing and the thanksgiving come and abide upon this bread, that all the souls which take of it may be renewed, and their sins may be forgiven them.

Wright. Vol. II., p. 290.

Thy Holy Body, which was crucified for our sake, we eat, and Thy lifegiving Blood, which was shed for our sake, we drink. Let Thy Body be to us for life, and Thy Blood for the remission of sins. For the gall which Thou drankest for us, let the bitterness of our

enemy be taken away from us. And for Thy drinking vinegar for our sake, let our weakness be strengthened. And (for) the spit which Thou didst receive for us, let us receive Thy perfect life. And because Thou didst receive the crown of thorns for us, let us receive from Thee the crown that withereth not. And because Thou wast wrapped in a linen cloth for us, let us be girt with Thy mighty strength, which cannot be overcome. And because Thou wast buried in a new sepulchre for our mortality, let us too receive intercourse with Thee in heaven. And as Thou didst arise, let us be raised, and let us stand before Thee at the Judgment of Truth.

The Acts of Thomas are perhaps to be dated *c.* A.D. 220. With these Gnostic prayers compare Irenæus, *Adv. Hæv.*, I. xiii. 2. The Gnostic claim to secret tradition makes them almost useless as documents to aid us in tracing the development of the Catholic Liturgy.

(3) TESTAMENTUM DOMINI

Translation from *The Testament of our Lord*, Cooper and Maclean, by permission of the Bishop of Moray and Ross.

Our Lord (be) with you.
 And with thy spirit.
 (Lift) up your hearts.
 They are lifted up unto the Lord.
 Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
 It is meet and right.
 Holy things in holy persons.
 In heaven and on earth without ceasing.

¹ We render thanks to Thee, O God; the Holy One, Confirmer of our souls, and Giver of our life, the Treasure

¹ Compare the whole of this Prayer with Ap. Trad., p. 30, upon which it is based, and see note, p. xiii.

of incorruptibility, and Father of Thy Only-Begotten Son, our Saviour, Whom in the latter times Thou didst send to us as a Saviour and Proclaimer of Thy purpose. For it is Thy purpose that we should be saved in Thee. Our heart giveth thanks unto Thee, O Lord, our mind, our soul, with all its thinking, that Thy grace may come upon us, O Lord, so that we may continually praise Thee, and Thy Only-Begotten Son and Thy Holy Ghost, both now and alway, and for ever and ever. Amen.

O Thou Power of the Father, the grace of the nations, Knowledge, True Wisdom, the Exaltation of the Meek, the Medicine of souls, the confidence of us who believe, for Thou art the Strength of the righteous, the Hope of the presented, the Haven of those who are buffeted, the Illuminator of the perfect, the Son of the living God, make to arise on us, out of Thy gift which cannot be searched into, courage, might, reliance, wisdom, strength, unlapsing faith, unshaken hope, the knowledge of Thy Spirit, meekness and uprightness, so that alway, O Lord, we Thy servants, and all the people, may praise Thee purely, may bless Thee, may give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, at all times and beseech Thee.

Thou, Lord, the Founder of the heights, and King of the Treasuries of light, Visitor of the heavenly Sion, King of the Orders of Archangels, of Dominions, Praises, Thrones, Raiments, Lights, Joys, Delights, the Father of Kings, who holdest all in Thy hands, and suppliest all by Thy reason, through Thine Only-Begotten Son, Who was crucified for our sins. Thou, Lord, didst send Thy Word, Who is of Thy counsel and covenant, by Whom Thou madest all things, being well pleased with Him, into a virgin womb; Who, when He was conceived and made flesh, was shown to be Thy Son, being born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin: Who fulfilling Thy will and preparing a holy people, stretched

forth His hands to suffering, that He might loose from sufferings and corruption and death those who have hoped in Thee ; Who, when He was betrayed to voluntary suffering that He might raise up those who had slipped ; and find those who were lost, and give life to the dead, and loose the pains of death, and rend the bonds of the Devil, and fulfil the counsel of the Father, and tread down Sheol, and open the way of life, and guide the righteous to light, and fix the boundary, and lighten the darkness, and nurture the babes, and reveal the resurrection ; taking bread, gave it to His disciples, saying : TAKE, EAT : THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. WHEN YE DO THIS, YE MAKE MY RESURRECTION. Also the cup of wine ¹ which He mixed He gave for a type of the Blood, which was shed for us. Remembering, therefore, Thy death and resurrection, we offer to Thee bread and cup, giving thanks to Thee who alone art God, for ever and our Saviour, since Thou hast promised to us to stand before Thee and to serve Thee in priesthood. Therefore we render thanks to Thee, we Thy servants, O Lord.

We offer to Thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father, before Whom all creation and every nature trembleth fleeing into itself, O Lord the Holy Ghost ; we have brought this drink and this food of Thy holiness (to Thee) ; cause that it may be to us not for condemnation, not for reproach, not for destruction, but for the medicine and support of our spirit. Yea, O God, grant us that by Thy Name every thought of things displeasing to Thee may flee away. Grant, O Lord, that every proud conception may be driven away from us by The Name, which is within the veils of Thy Sanctuaries, Those high ones—

¹ Note that the words of Institution are not given in the case of the cup.

a Name which, when Sheol heareth, it is amazed, the depth is rent, the spirits are driven away, the dragon is buried, unbelief is cast out, disobedience is subdued, anger is appeased, envy worketh not, pride is reprov'd, avarice rooted out, boasting taken away, arrogance humbled, (and) every root of bitterness destroyed. Grant, therefore, O Lord, to our innermost eyes to see Thee, praising Thee and glorifying Thee, commemorating Thee and serving Thee, having a portion in Thee alone, O Son and Word of God; Who subduest all things.

(The Intercessions here follow.)

But grant that all those who partake and receive of Thy Holy Things may be made one with Thee, so that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost for the confirmation of the faith in truth, that they may lift up always a doxology to Thee; and to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by Whom praise and might (be) unto Thee, with Thy Holy Spirit, for ever and ever.

People: Amen.

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